Orthographies and ideologies in revived Cornish

Merryn Sophie Davies-Deacon

MA by research

University of York

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Abstract

While orthography development involves detailed linguistic work, it is particularly subject to non-linguistic influences, including beliefs relating to group identity, as well as political context and the level of available state support. This thesis investigates the development of orthographies for Cornish, a minority language spoken in the UK. Cornish is a revived language: while it is now used by several hundred people, it underwent language death in the early modern era, with the result that no one orthography ever came to take precedence naturally. During the revival, a number of orthographies have been created, following different principles.

This thesis begins by giving an account of the development of these different orthographies, focusing on the context in which this took place and how contextual factors affected their implementation and reception. Following this, the situation of Cornish is compared to that of Breton, its closest linguistic neighbour and a minority language which has experienced revitalisation, and the creation of multiple orthographies, over the same period. Factors affecting both languages are identified, reinforcing the importance of certain contextual influences.

After this, materials related to both languages, including language policy, examinations, and learning resources, are investigated in order to determine the extent to which they acknowledge the multiplicity of orthographies in Cornish and Breton. The results of this investigation indicate that while a certain orthography appears to have been established as a standard in the case of Breton, this cannot be said for Cornish, despite significant amounts of language planning work in this domain in recent years.

The final chapter summarises the findings of the thesis, considers possible future developments for the status of revived Cornish orthographies, and affirms the relevance of this case to language planning for minority languages in general, emphasising the need to be aware of the importance of ideological factors of the kind highlighted throughout the thesis.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Orthography and minority languages

Today, "writing intrudes into every cranny of our personal as well as our workplace and professional worlds" (Candlin and Hyland, 1999:3). Widely-used languages frequently have a highly prestigious written form, popularly thought superior to spoken varieties (Clark and Ivanič, 1997:190). However, this is not as often the case for minority languages,[1] historically lacking official control and harbouring a small speaker population.

Consequently, among their speakers, "[t]he existence of a written code is seen as an essential prerequisite for many activities in favour of their maintenance and revitalisation" (Lüpke, 2011:312). Developing writing systems, and orthographies more specifically, for minority languages, has become a chief focus of such activities. Those involved must therefore contend with the challenges of creating, implementing and promoting an orthography that satisfies the language's users' needs.

This thesis will explore this challenge with reference to a specific case: Cornish, a language historically spoken in Cornwall in far south-western Great Britain,[2] which now has several hundred speakers (CLP 2013[:8]) due to an ongoing revival. While scribal conventions existed in medieval Cornish, these ceased due to language death, which resulted in the loss of intergenerational transmission by the late eighteenth century. As part of the revival, various orthographies have been proposed, differences between which have caused numerous debates, as this thesis will show. By investigating their development, this thesis will, it is hoped, reveal some of the salient factors in orthography creation that must be considered when developing minority language orthographies in general.

The precise aims of this thesis are stated below, after an investigation of relevant theoretical concepts and the literature in which they are situated.

[1] The term 'minority languages' will be used according to its definition in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (CoE, 1992): "languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and different from the official language(s) of that State".

[2] Cornwall is politically administered as a county of England, but a small nationalist movement has been active since the mid-twentieth century, with the creation of the political party Mebyon Kernow, still active today, in 1951 (Deacon, Cole and Tregidga, 2003:32). Given that this movement has strong ties with the language revival, this thesis will avoid characterising Cornwall as a part of England.

1.2 Literature review

1.2.1 Terminology

This thesis draws on multiple concepts from sociolinguistics.

Revival and revitalisation

Language revival is distinguished from language revitalisation in that the latter involves languages with continuous intergenerational transmission, while revived languages have experienced a complete lack of native speakers. Research can blur this distinction, treating all activities supporting minority languages as revitalisation, even given a substantial historical lack of native speakers, as with Hebrew (Hinton, 2001:5). While this approach emphasises that similar language maintenance techniques can apply in all cases, it risks ignoring methodological differences required for language revival: for example, the lack of native speakers means written texts become more valuable, and the corpus often requires more expansion. This increases the role of written language in language revival.

Parts of this thesis will compare Cornish with Breton, a closely related language which has also experienced disagreements over orthography. Unlike Cornish, Breton still has native speakers as a result of continuous intergenerational transmission (Adkins, 2013), and is therefore a language undergoing revitalisation. This comparison will not only help inform the comparatively underdeveloped situation of Cornish, but also illustrate differences between revival and revitalisation.

New and traditional speakers

The distinction between native and non-native speakers[3] is problematic in language revival and revitalisation cases, where it is necessary to differentiate between native speakers who have acquired the language through uninterrupted intergenerational transmission, and those who have acquired it via education or non-native-speaker parents, whose variety will bear certain structural differences (Jones, 1995:429; German, 2007:186). Grinevald and Bert (2011:51), in a typology of speakers of endangered languages, propose the category of "neo-speaker", whose acquisition results from language revival or revitalisation initiatives. While they note that "[t]his type of speaker has not been referenced in the literature yet"

[3] This distinction is itself not always considered straightforward, and is discussed at length by Davies (2003), who concludes by listing "characteristics of the native speaker". The first of these, "The native speaker acquires the [language] of which (s)he is a native speaker in childhood" (Davies, 2003:210), is sufficient to act as defining feature for the purposes of this thesis.

(ibid.), more recent research on this category of 'new speaker' notes their significance in minority language development (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013; McLeod, O'Rourke and Dunmore, 2014; Jaffe, 2015; O'Rourke and Walsh, 2015). In language revival cases, such as Cornish, all speakers, whether 'native' or not, are new speakers. In language revitalisation cases such as Breton, they are contrasted with 'traditional speakers' (Hornsby, 2015), who have acquired the language through intergenerational transmission; some effects of the distinction between new and traditional speakers will be seen in chapter 3.

Standardisation

The classic diachronic definition of language standardisation is provided by Haugen (1966), who divides it into four sub-processes: the **selection** of a variety to become the standard; its **codification** via explicit grammatical rules, dictionaries, and so on; '**elaboration of function**', by which it becomes suitable for multiple topics and registers; and its **acceptance** as standard by the authorities and the general speaker population.

Orthography creation and implementation is associated with codification, as it imposes specific rules on how the language is written. However, orthographies themselves can also undergo versions of these four sub-processes: when an orthography is selected to be the standard, it must itself undergo codification and elaboration of function, requiring explicit rules to be formulated allowing it to represent all possible utterances, and must finally be accepted by users. Likewise, if several orthographies are 'selected' by rival parties and compete to be considered the standard, each must undergo codification and elaboration of function separately, and the outcome of this may determine which meets the greatest degree of acceptance.

Haugen's diachronic view of standardisation underemphasises the importance of continued action to ensure that the standard retains its status, and Lodge (1993:27) accordingly appends a fifth sub-process, called "maintenance of the standard". This is often carried out by the state, including in the education system: for minority languages with limited such support, this is more difficult. Maintenance ensures that the standard copes effectively with language change, which for minority languages involves not only structural evolution and lexical expansion, but also the challenges posed by the culture of the dominant language, and probable significant fluctuations in speaker numbers. To maintain the status of a standard orthography, therefore, work continues in the form of language policy or the

publication of up-to-date resources and guidance on its use. Such materials and their reflection of potential or actual standard orthographies will be investigated in chapter 4.

(Language) ideology

Milroy and Milroy (1992:22–23) take a different approach to standardisation, emphasising that due to language change, it is not a finite process, and instead calling it an "ideology".

Ideology is "[o]ne of the most debated concepts in sociology" (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988:118); such debates also occur in sociolinguistics. While research on 'language ideology' began to emerge during the 1980s, attempts at defining the field date only to the early 1990s. Woolard (1992:236) points out the term's "confusing tangle of commonsense and semi-technical meanings"; examining these, she identifies various features that recur in different definitions. Ideology relates to ideas and consciousness, reflects "the experience or interests of a particular social position" (ibid.:237), involves practices of distortion and/or rationalisation, and is closely linked to "social power and its legitimation" (ibid.:238). Modern research often uses a narrower definition, "denot[ing] (politically situated or interested) ideas or beliefs about language" (Nakassis, 2016:3). Without disregarding the features enumerated by Woolard (1992), this definition suffices for this thesis. The term is therefore used here to denote beliefs held by promoters of different orthographies relating to how they think the language should be, or what its function should involve. Reflections of such ideologies can be seen in the way in which these beliefs are portrayed and rationalised in the orthographies themselves, and in the presentation of related discourse, these being means of legitimising the orthographies or the movement and of establishing a position of power for those who support these duly legitimised orthographies. Chapter 2 will point out some of the ideologies involved in Cornish orthography development, with their effects indicated throughout the thesis.

Authenticity

One feature of the ideologies associated with the Cornish revival is reference to 'authenticity', another concept requiring a cautious approach. As we shall see later, supporters of all three of the main late-twentieth century Cornish orthographies have claimed their chosen orthography is 'authentic': yet the structural differences between them show this relies on multiple interpretations of 'authenticity'. Academic research has indeed identified problems with the concept of a single supreme authenticity: Coupland (2003) points out the conflict in sociolinguistics between what he terms 'establishment authenticities', favouring forms of language explicitly prescribed by the authorities, and

‘vernacular authenticities’, prioritising language as it is “when we seek it out and observe it empirically” (Coupland, 2003:420), this second type being the kind typically valued in sociolinguistic research. Coupland argues, however, that neither should be valued over the other: “sociolinguistics … needs to work with much more nuanced assumptions about the authentic speaker” (ibid.:429). For revived languages, authenticity is even more elusive: relying on the native speaker as a source of the most authentic language is impossible, and authenticities must be located between the remains of texts written by traditional speakers and the language as shaped by the needs of today’s users.

In Foucauldian discourse analysis, which focuses on analysing the discursive construction of power relations, authenticity is considered still more unreliable. If the aim of authenticity is to reflect absolute truth, this is impossible as there is no such thing: truth “is a discursive construction and different regimes of knowledge determine what is true and false” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:13). Multiple truths and authenticities are possible depending on the context the discourse establishes. This thesis accordingly does not consider any type of ‘authenticity’ claimed by language activists, multiple kinds of which are seen in chapter 2, more inherently valuable than another. Importance will instead be given to the way in which such claims are made and what this reveals about the operative ideologies.

Identity

The field of ‘language and identity’ has recently grown in prominence, highlighting the need for a definition of identity and its precise relationship with language, which recent research has tackled. Bucholtz and Hall (2010:18) argue that “identity is the social positioning of self and other”: like authenticity, it is relative rather than absolute, situating language users in relation to their alignment or non-alignment with other users or non-users. Identity is multifaceted: one can express, for example, an ethnically Cornish and working-class identity simultaneously, without either aspect taking precedence. Additionally, identity is constructed through discourse: language does not merely reflect identity, but constructs it (Baxter, 2016). Therefore, language users’ conscious and unconscious decisions contribute to the establishment of their identity, marking out their precise relationship with others. In this context, features of specific orthographies reveal aspects of the identity their creators and supporters project. This again links to ideology: language users’ ideologies are expressed in the way they position themselves through language. As this thesis will show, Cornish identity is constructed differently by the

features of different orthographies, depending on whether their supporters consider it Celtic, non-English, or otherwise distinct.

Language planning and linguistic landscape

'Language planning' denotes actions contributing to language revival or revitalisation, and is commonly divided into three subtypes: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Wright, 2007), with a fourth subtype, prestige planning, added by Haarmann (1990). All four are in some way relevant here. Corpus planning entails changes to the actual linguistic structure: in this case, the establishment of the features of specific orthographies. Acquisition planning deals with how policy relating to the language is implemented: chapter 4 examines some language policy.

Status planning concerns use of the language by the authorities. A pertinent example of this for Cornish can be analysed with reference to the emerging field of linguistic landscape studies. Much research on this topic offers a quantitative analysis of language use on publicly visible signage (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Backhaus, 2008; Blackwood, 2011). However, more recently, Blommaert and Maly (2015) have called for a more qualitative 'second wave' of linguistic landscape studies, focusing on the depiction of attitudes, identities and ideologies in the way signage in different languages is displayed and the concepts it signifies. Signage is an important vehicle for disseminating written language in public spaces, Cornish-language signage being increasingly prevalent in Cornwall: this second-wave approach to the linguistic landscape will therefore be relevant here.

Prestige planning is different from other types of language planning in that it focuses on influencing attitudes to the language rather than policy, viewing the prestige of a language as "a fundamental emotional driver for both planning and success" (Ager, 2005:13) and thus concentrating on the speaker community rather than official bodies. This too is relevant to the case of Cornish orthography development, which has at times been noticeably affected by emotional concerns. As Cornish is a minority language with little official support, a major goal for its orthographies must necessarily be acceptance from the community of language users, making this type of language planning particularly important.

1.2.2 Literature on orthography

Sebba (2009:35) claims that "writing systems have obvious connections with subjects of great sociolinguistic interest, like identity and ethnicity". Despite this, sociolinguistic research dealing with written rather than spoken language is rare; research on the development and implementation of orthography is well placed for shedding new light on the concepts discussed above. Indeed, Cahill and Karan (2008:9) note that "the influence of the outside world, internal conflicts, as well as other social factors, can end up being the determining factors in an orthography", stressing the role of ideology in orthography development. Johnson (2005:11) echoes this approach, characterising the 1996 German orthography reforms as a "language ideological debate" and examining relevant political factors. She suggests that as part of language standardisation, orthography development and reform is driven by modernist thinking, and that orthography standardisation tends to be seen as a beneficial and progressive move by language users (ibid.:121). This attitude can be identified in the case of Cornish, as this thesis will show.

Work dealing specifically with Cornish orthography does exist, but not in great volume. Some examples (such as MacKinnon, 2000; Hut, 2001) were produced in order to inform language policy and so have understandably refrained from investigating the ideological motivations for dispute. One account providing more detail in this regard is that of Harasta (2013), although it is written from an anthropological rather than linguistic perspective, and avoids detail about linguistic differences among the orthographies. Others (Sayers, 2009; Sayers, 2012; Ferdinand, 2013) have drawn conclusions about the recently implemented 'Standard Written Form' of Cornish that time has revealed to be at odds with users' actual practice, as this thesis will investigate. There is therefore scope for an unbiased and linguistically informed retrospective account of the development of revived Cornish orthographies, which this thesis will attempt to provide.

1.3 Aims and plan of the thesis

The following research questions will be investigated:

1. What orthographies, affected by what ideological principles, were developed during the twentieth-century Cornish revival?
2. Why and how was their status and use affected by the development of the 'Standard Written Form' in the late 2000s?
3. What comparisons can be drawn with the development of orthographies for revitalised Breton?

4 To what extent have the various orthographies for the two languages been successful?

Chapter 2 will focus on questions 1 and 2, giving a brief background on pre-revival Cornish, followed by a more detailed account of the development of orthographies during the revival. Chapter 3 will focus on question 3, introducing the comparison with Breton and providing reasons for its validity, before giving a brief exposition of orthography development in revitalised Breton, and finally comparing aspects of the process across the two languages. In chapter 4, this comparison will continue with an examination of written materials relating to both languages in order to determine whether any orthography can be judged ‘successful’. This will thus concentrate on question 4, but will continue to provide material for questions 2 and 3. Chapter 5 will offer conclusions relating to these four research questions, suggesting possible outcomes and implications for the wider context of orthography development for minority languages, offering an approach to language ideology that unusually considers the field with reference to written rather than spoken language and highlights its significance in language planning.

2 Cornish orthographies[4]

2.1 Traditional Cornish

Diachronically, Cornish can be divided into two phases: traditional Cornish (George, 2010:488), the language as it was spoken when intergenerational transmission occurred, and revived Cornish. Traditional Cornish forms the basis on which revived Cornish, and the various orthographies that have been created to represent it, have been constructed.

Traditional Cornish is subdivided into Old, Middle and Late periods based on various structural and sociolinguistic differences. The division between Old Cornish and Middle Cornish results from linguistic changes over the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (ibid.:501), including the assibilation of final dental plosives, which distanced Cornish from the other Brittonic languages.[5] The establishment of Glasney Priory in Penryn in 1264 (Gendall, 1990:i) led in the mid- to late-fourteenth century to a large output of religious drama which characterises the Middle Cornish period (Stoyle, 1999:434). By contrast, a smaller volume of literature exists in Late Cornish, which differs structurally again, featuring, for example, more frequent auxiliary verbs.

A significant difference between Middle Cornish and Late Cornish is caused by the phonological development of pre-occlusion and its written representation. This denotes the epenthesis of a voiced oral plosive before nasal consonants following stressed syllables, as shown in Table 1.

Earlier (non-pre-occluded) pronunciation	**Later (pre-occluded) pronunciation**	**Middle Cornish spelling**	**Late Cornish spelling**
/m/	/bm/	e.g. <kemer>[6] ‘take’	<kebmer>[7] ‘take’

[4] Samples of the orthographies discussed, and remarks on their features, can be found in Appendix 1. A table showing features of various orthographies can be found in Appendix 2.

[5] A sub-branch of Celtic languages, this group includes Cornish, Breton and Welsh. Compare Middle Cornish *bys* (‘world’, Late Cornish *bes*) with modern Breton *bed* and Welsh *byd*.

[6] Attested in fourteenth-century Cornish, in Norris, 1859, p. 390.

[7] Attested in eighteenth-century Cornish, in Padel, 1975, p. 42.

/n/	/dn/	e.g. <pen>[8] ‘head’	<pedn>[9] ‘head’

Table 1. Pre-occlusion

Chaudhri (2007:5–17) gives a comprehensive list of extant texts in traditional Cornish. As these texts have both been significant bases for revived Cornish orthographies, we will examine the contexts surrounding their production in more detail below.

2.1.1 Middle Cornish

Most surviving Middle Cornish texts have religious themes. The most substantial among them are three mystery plays, collectively referred to as the *Ordinalia*, dating from the fourteenth century, which recount episodes from the Bible, and two saints’ lives, *Bewnans Ke* (‘The life of [St] Ke’) and *Beunans Meriasek* (‘The life of [St] Meriasek’), both from around 1500 (Chaudhri, 2007:7). The *Ordinalia* at least were “almost certainly written at Glasney College” (George, 2010:493), and some scholars associate them with an associated “Middle Cornish scribal tradition” (Williams, 2006b:23), involving practices such as the use of <ʒ> to represent dental fricatives (Mills, 1999:195).[10] Accordingly, a later adaptation of part of the *Ordinalia*, *Creacon* [sic] *of the World* by William Jordan, written in 1611, displays different orthographic features from the earlier texts, including a “large number of instances of pre-occlusion … and the frequent appearance of the graphs *dg*, *j*, *sch*, *sh* for /dʒ/ in addition to the variation of *s* and *g*” (Chaudhri, 2007:278). An additional significant source for Middle Cornish is the ‘Tregear Homilies’, sermons translated from English by John Tregear in the mid-sixteenth century (ibid.:7–8). However, the texts contain numerous lexemes borrowed from English, meaning their validity as a source for revived Cornish has been questioned. George[11] has dismissed Tregear’s language as “Kernewek Pronter” (‘priest’s Cornish’; George, 1993:9), an evident evocation of the term *brezhoneg beleg*, ‘priest’s Breton’, typically used pejoratively to denote varieties of Breton abundant in French loan-words (Hornsby, 2015:113).

[8] Attested in fourteenth-century Cornish, in Norris, 1859, p. 262.
[9] Attested in seventeenth-century Cornish, in Padel, 1975, p. 25.
[10] For examples of more of the scribal conventions of Middle Cornish, see Appendix 1, text 1i, and Appendix 2.
[11] An important figure in Cornish orthography development, whose contribution will be examined later in this chapter.

2.1.2 Late Cornish

From the fifteenth century, tensions increased between Cornish speakers and the English-speaking elite. With the Reformation came Glasney Priory's dissolution, causing the loss of Middle Cornish orthographic conventions. In 1549, the 'Prayer Book Rebellion', where Cornishmen travelled to London to protest against the newly imposed English-language prayer book, was at least partly motivated by linguistic concerns: the protestors claimed that "certain of us understande no Englyshe" (quoted in MacKinnon, 2000:5). During this period, however, the eastern boundary of Cornish-speaking territory moved continually westward: by 1650, the line dividing Cornish speakers from English-speaking monolinguals was located at Truro.[12] By 1750, Cornish was spoken only in West Penwith (George, 1986a).[13]

However, as Cornish declined, the first efforts to preserve it began. A group of writers from West Penwith at the turn of the eighteenth century, called the 'Newlyn School' (Hicks, 2005:14), consciously chose to write in Cornish, even though few of them were native speakers. As a child, one of these writers, Nicholas Boson, had even been discouraged from speaking Cornish to servants by his mother (ibid.). It is evident from this that the ongoing language shift was motivated by an attitude that favoured English over Cornish.

In 1700, Celtic scholar Edward Lhuyd visited Cornwall (George, 2010:491). He later published *Archaeologica Britannica*, a volume comparing Welsh, Irish, Cornish and Breton. Lhuyd's notes on Cornish are particularly valuable: he gives transcriptions of sayings and stories in a phonetic alphabet of his own devising.[14] Consequently, we have a record of Cornish pronunciation from this period. However, Lhuyd's work must be treated cautiously, as there are no details on his sources' identity, and his phonetic alphabet is sometimes difficult to interpret: it seems reasonable to assume that "s in Division" (Lhuyd, 1707:225) denotes [ʒ], but the sound explained merely as "A" (ibid.) is more opaque.

Lhuyd corresponded with contemporary Cornish writers, whose later writing shows changes in its orthographic conventions (Gendall, 2005:4): they began using graphemes

[12] See Appendix 3 for maps.
[13] Like much work on traditional Cornish, the conclusions drawn in this research have occasionally been challenged, undoubtedly partly because its author is an extremely significant and controversial figure in the development of orthographies during the language revival. However, it is generally accepted as an authoritative source on the geographical details of the decline of traditional Cornish (Spriggs, 2003).
[14] See Appendix 1, text 3ii.

such as <dh>, <tsh>, <dzh> and <dz> (Kennedy, 2005a[:3]), taken from Lhuyd's system. This suggests a willingness to abandon the apparently English-influenced style that these writers had previously used, being unacquainted with Middle Cornish conventions. However, they felt that Lhuyd's Cornish was unreasonably close to Welsh (Nance, 1926:24). As well as warning us that Lhuyd's writing may not have been representative of contemporary usage, this highlights a tendency to emphasise 'Celticity' that we will find again in the later history of Cornish.

The activities of the Newlyn School remained confined to this small community and did not cause a more general resurgence of Cornish. By 1768, its decline had proceeded so far that the antiquarian Daines Barrington sought out the 'last' Cornish speaker (Sayers and Renkó-Michelsén, 2015:18). He visited Dolly Pentreath of Paul parish, who had not learnt English until adulthood; she spoke a few sentences of Cornish to him. Pentreath is still popularly referred to as the last speaker of Cornish (Payton, 2000b:21);[15] however, it is increasingly acknowledged that this appellation is misleading. The term 'last speaker' can have various definitions (Grinevald and Bert, 2011:52), often implying that the person is the last to have any knowledge of the language at all. It is clear, though, that Pentreath was not in this position: records of contemporary Cornish use in restricted domains, including counting fish and children's games, have emerged in the work of nineteenth-century antiquarians (MacKinnon, 2000:7). Indeed, Pentreath's epitaph is in Cornish, showing that she was outlived by at least one person who knew the language well enough to write poetry.

The last extant example of traditional Cornish prose is a short letter written by William Bodinar in 1776, again solicited by Daines Barrington (Pool and Padel, 1976).[16] Bodinar himself provides an interlinear English translation of the text, which refers to Bodinar's learning Cornish "termen me vee mawe ['when I was a boy']" (Bodinar, reproduced in Pool and Padel, 1976:234); sixty years on, it is "oll neceaves gen poble younk ['all forgotten by young people']" (ibid.). Bodinar's words suggest that Cornish was indeed no longer a community language by this time, but also that it was still understood by a few older people in West Penwith.

[15] As an example of Pentreath's popular depiction, her image currently illustrates the Wikipedia article on 'language death' (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Language_death, accessed 10 August 2016).
[16] For the entire Cornish text of the letter, and a translation, see Appendix 1, text 4i.

Cornish therefore fell out of community use at the end of the eighteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth, it was an occasional object of study for antiquarians such as W. S. Lach-Szyrma, who visited elderly people, eliciting the Cornish they remembered in the form of isolated words and formulaic sayings (MacKinnon, 2000:7). Such interest resulted in a handful of publications giving examples of Cornish phrases (e.g. Bannister, 1871; Lach-Szyrma, Borlase and Rundle, 2008 [1889]). Concurrently, some scholars began studying Cornish texts: Henry Jenner, working at the British Museum, discovered a Middle Cornish manuscript (Mills, 2002:82), and gave a paper on the language to the Philological Society in 1873 (Jenner, 1877:154), later producing a number of publications. Research into Cornish manuscripts was also undertaken by Frederick Jago, who in 1887 published *An English-Cornish dictionary*, allowing English words to be looked up to find Cornish equivalents. While this may suggest that it was intended for people wishing to speak or write in Cornish, Jago's dictionary would in fact have been ill-equipped for this task. For each English headword, it presents a range of Cornish equivalents, arranged in chronological order by manuscript source, as in this example, where six different lexemes, each with as many as four different spellings, are offered as translations for one word.

> "INDEED. *adv*. Eredy, yredy, en wîr, W.; lanté, lenté, la*u*té, le*u*té, P.; relewté, rulewté, relawta, B.; feyst, M. 2144. *Ladra pûr lues feyst* to plunder very many indeed, M. 2144; defry, dyffry, W." (Jago, 1887:84)

2.2 Revived Cornish

The move away from the antiquarian tradition and towards language revival began in the early twentieth century. This was motivated by specific sociocultural factors that are still influential today.

2.2.1 Henry Jenner

It was the antiquarian Henry Jenner who came to be seen as the father of the Cornish language revival. In his earlier work, he professed little desire to see Cornish revived (Ellis, 1974:147), but in the first years of the twentieth century he was persuaded by the *Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak* ('Celto-Cornish Society'; CKK)[17] (Jenner, 1904:xiii) to produce

[17] This is the first of a number of abbreviations which will be used throughout this thesis; the reader is reminded that a list of abbreviations follows the appendices.

a practical grammar entitled *A handbook of the Cornish language*. In its preface, his revised position on a potential revival is clear:

> "Why should Cornishmen learn Cornish? There is no money in it, it serves no practical purpose, and the literature is scanty and of no great originality or value. The question is a fair one, the answer is simple. Because they are Cornishmen." (ibid.:xi)

As this passage shows, the early movement placed a strong focus on identity. As well as this distinct concept of 'Cornishness', the CKK emphasised the Cornish claim to Celtic identity, which was enjoying its own renaissance (Hale, 1997). It therefore promoted a general revival of traditional Cornish culture, within which the language was to be situated. One of the CKK's principal aims was the recognition of Cornwall as a Celtic nation by the Pan-Celtic Congress: Jenner's work was instrumental in their eventual acceptance of this proposition. It was he who, in 1904, gave a speech entitled "Cornwall: A Celtic nation", prompting Cornwall's formal admission (Hale, 1997:109) to the Congress. The publication of the *Handbook*, demonstrating Cornwall's possession of a usable Celtic language, would certainly have strengthened the CKK's argument. The initial revival of Cornish was therefore motivated by an ideology promoting a joint Celtic and distinctively Cornish identity.

This identity was also expressed through the use of traditional Celtic symbolism, leading to the establishment of the Cornish Gorseth,[18] a body based on the traditions of the Welsh Eisteddfod, where those deemed to have served Cornwall were initiated as bards and invited to participate in quasi-medieval ceremonies.[19] Again, Jenner's role was prominent: he was the first Grand Bard, holding this position until his death (Miners, 1978:55). From the outset, the Gorseth's ceremonies were mostly in Cornish (ibid.:22), and in 1932 it began granting bardship to anyone sufficiently proficient in the language (ibid.:25). This continues today, with those who pass the fourth grade examination in Cornish being made

[18] 'College of Bards'; also spelt *Gorsedh* in Cornish, and *Gorsedd* in English after the Welsh.
[19] See Miners, 1978:22 for an account of the first ceremony.

bards (Hut, 2001:13),[20] entitling them to a Cornish bardic name, which some use at Cornish-language events and in publications.[21]

Jenner was not only the first to offer a Cornish grammar that allowed the language to be formally taught, but also the first to attempt to rationalise the orthography, claiming that "modern writers of all languages prefer consistent spelling, and to modern learners, whose object is linguistic rather than philological, a fairly regular system of orthography is almost a necessity" (Jenner, 1904:ix). The *Handbook*, published at the time of the emergence of theoretical linguistics, therefore marked an ideological shift from tradition to modernity. Modernity has been associated with standardisation and regularity (see section 1.2.2; Johnson, 2005), and with this shift there was a move from the descriptivism of Jago's dictionary (see section 2.1.2) to more prescriptive practices, advocating a single correct orthography for each word, which Jenner determined by undertaking "a comparison of the various existing spellings with one another, with the traditional fragments collected and recorded by himself [sic] in 1875, with the modern pronunciation of Cornish names, with the changes which English has undergone in the mouths of the less educated of Cornishmen, and to some extent with Breton" (Jenner, 1904:x). It can therefore be seen that Jenner attached value to the final stages of traditional Cornish and to local English pronunciation. Jenner in fact states that his revived language is based on Cornish "chiefly in its latest stages", as the *Handbook*'s full title specifies: he advises pre-occlusion "even where it is not written" (Jenner, 1904:63) and the use of auxiliary verbs, both structural features of Late Cornish. Later orthographies would depart from this.

Despite Jenner's claim to have regularised Cornish orthography, it remains inefficient. /ɔː/ is represented by both <ô> and <aw>, /uː/ by <û> and <ou>, and /aɪ/ by <ŷ>, <ai>, <ei>, <ay> and <ey>. Jenner's orthography is certainly more uniform than that of traditional Late Cornish writings;[22] however, these were of course produced by multiple writers, who had no such aim of regularising the orthography. Later systems, aided by advances in linguistics, would be more successful in achieving regularity.

[20] For more details on the examination system, see section 4.3.
[21] Editions of the textbook *Cornish simplified* (Smith, 1972), for example, show the bardic name 'Caradar' rather than 'Smith' on the cover.
[22] For a sample of Jenner's orthography, see Appendix 1, text 2.

2.2.2 Robert Morton Nance: From a unified spelling to Unified Cornish

Jenner's *Handbook* thus began the Cornish language revival, and was successful in its ideological purpose of legitimising Cornish identity within the wider pan-Celtic movement. Among its readers was Robert Morton Nance, who with Jenner founded the first Old Cornwall Society in St Ives in 1920 (Williams, 2004:33). The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies now has over forty local branches and prioritises "making a record of any aspect of our Cornish culture and heritage which is threatened with disappearance" (Knight, 2014:2). For Jenner and Nance, the language formed part of this veneration of the past.

In 1929, Nance published *Cornish for all*, a new Cornish textbook with a major difference from Jenner's: while Jenner had based his reconstruction on Late Cornish, Nance preferred Middle Cornish texts, advocating "accept[ing] Middle Cornish as the classical literary standard" (Nance, 1929:6) given that "Cornish has no 'native speakers'" (ibid.). This prestige was won both by the substantial contribution of Middle Cornish to the extant literature and by its structure: Nance contrasts "the great days of Cornish writing in the 15th century" (ibid.) with "broken forms peculiar to Late Cornish" (ibid.:7). This exemplifies his prescriptivist attitudes towards language change, and also highlights differences between Cornish and English, which were less distinct by the later period. Had Cornish been a case of language revitalisation, it is less likely that this stance would have been taken, as the needs of native speakers would have been relevant.

Nance, having sought to unify the various spellings used in Middle Cornish texts, accordingly calls his orthography a "'unified' spelling" (ibid.:6). He makes it clear that he wants Cornish to appear distinct from English, basing the orthography on "that of 15th-century Cornish, before English influence had affected it" (ibid.:10). Again, he focuses on Celticity, going so far as to substitute certain lexemes for others that he considers "more Celtic" (ibid.:8),[23] and invoking the need to preserve Cornish "if [Cornwall] is to remain in any real sense Celtic, for in it are bound up not only her history and romance, but even her very identity" (ibid.:37). Nance's choice of a Middle Cornish basis therefore underlines his

[23] Nance gives the example of his substitution *gwycor* ('merchant') for *marchont* in his version of 'John of Chyannor' (the first stanzas of which form text 3iii of Appendix 1).

belief in a Celtic Cornish identity,[24] and while the reasons he gives for doing so are linguistic, these are rooted in ideological motivations.

Nance later produced the first dictionaries of revived Cornish (Nance, 1952; Nance, 1955), aiming to "giv[e] students of Cornish the means of expressing themselves in words which are … part of the Middle Cornish learnt by them in unified form" (Nance, 1952:vii). His earlier term, 'unified spelling', was now evolving into a more holistic 'unified Cornish', implying the existence of an entire coherent linguistic system suitable for use by modern learners. Indeed, Nance's variety would soon become known as 'Unified Cornish' (e.g. in Ellis, 1974). With a name thus assigned, Nance's Cornish could be dissociated from the concept of revived Cornish as a whole, creating opportunities for alternative systems to be proposed.

Unified Cornish (UC) was taken up enthusiastically by those already using Cornish, and by 1978 "more than two hundred students [were] enrolled at evening-classes" (Combellack, 1978:49). The report containing these words generally views the revival and UC optimistically; however, it admits that "[t]he Unified spelling system is not the best that could have been devised". Indeed, its support for UC is mostly because it "has survived for the best part of a century" (Combellack, 1978:45. Support for orthographies because they are well-established seems reasonable, and is certainly a compelling argument against English spelling reform; however, at a time when revived Cornish was struggling to win credibility in the face of academic criticism (see next section), and still harboured a small enough population of users[25] to permit substantial structural change with relatively little disruption, doubts about UC became increasingly prominent.

2.2.3 Discontent in the 1970s

Such doubts arose during the 1970s. Charles Thomas, first Director of the Institute of Cornish Studies[26] in 1971, took issue with UC as there had "never [been] any real discussion of the principles on which it was based" (Charles Thomas, quoted in Ellis, 1974:194). With this lack of explanation, the features of UC that disrupted general sound-

[24] Manx, however, uses an orthography involving several English spelling conventions. This illustrates the fact that 'Celtic' and 'English' need not be mutually exclusive, particularly with this precedent having been set.
[25] Combellack (1978:45) estimates optimistically that "one hundred [people] may be capable of sustained excellence in writing and reading proficiency for everyday purposes".
[26] This research institute, part of the University of Exeter, has produced work on diverse topics relating to Cornwall.

spelling correspondence[27] seemed out of place and made the orthography seem inconsistent, despite the fact that it was more consistent than Jenner's.

As well as this linguistic criticism, UC was challenged on non-linguistic, more explicitly ideological grounds, causing the first attempts at orthographic experimentation. Richard Gendall, writer of the textbook *Kernewek bew* ('Living Cornish') in 1972, disapproved of UC's medievalist leanings. As well as shifting the pedagogical style away from that of older textbooks by placing "emphasis on the spoken word" (Gendall, 1972:6), he advocated a pronunciation based on Late Cornish, claiming that "this has the great advantage of being nearer to us in time, and we are consequently less likely to be wrong about it" (ibid.:119). Accordingly, his orthography included some Late Cornish features such as pre-occlusion. While Gendall's textbook proved popular (Combellack, 1978:47), supporters of the UC tradition were not entirely in favour (Payton, 1999:417).

Tim Saunders, a younger Cornish user, similarly decried the language's associations with "dressing up as druids" (Saunders, 1976:29). Saunders co-edited the satirical Cornish-language magazine *Eythen* ('Gorse'), which used the language in a more modern context, containing dialogues about DIY with appropriate vocabulary lists, debates on nuclear power, and spoof letters mocking Nance and his orthography (*Eythen* 8, 1978:5). In *Eythen*, Saunders began to experiment orthographically, publishing editorials with the same text side-by-side in UC and in a new orthography he was developing,[28] which would eventually be elaborated in a textbook, *Dalleth Cèrnÿweg* ('Beginning Cornish'; Saunders, 1979). While Saunders differed from Nance in his intention to move away from the "pseudo-archaism" (Saunders, 1976:30) associated with the medievalist tradition and promote "the modernisation and development of the Cornish language" (Saunders, 1979[:2]), he shared an ideology with Nance and the CKK in seeking to stress the Celticity of Cornish. Saunders' orthography is extremely close to Welsh, as can be seen in his spelling of the word for 'Cornish': *Cèrnÿweg*. UC, like English, uses <k> rather than <c> before <e> to represent /k/, while Welsh never uses <k> at all; the final <g>, too, is closer to Welsh, where final /k/ is written as <g> if it is the result of devoicing.[29] Nance's spelling

[27] See Appendix 1, text 3iii, for some examples of these.
[28] For an excerpt from one of these editorials, see Appendix 1, texts 5i and 5ii.
[29] All three Brittonic languages tend to undergo devoicing of word-final plosives. The Cornish word for 'Cornish speaker' is *Kerneweger* or *Kernoweger*, where this devoicing does not occur due to the word-medial position of the /g/.

of the word for 'Cornish' was *Kernewek*; in Welsh, the word is *Cernywig*, significantly closer to Saunders' spelling.

2.2.4 Ken George and Kernewek Kemmyn

Despite ongoing criticism of UC, also found in political magazine *An Weryn* (1982:14), neither of these alternative orthographies was particularly successful, and UC maintained its dominant position into the 1980s. However, this would soon change. In 1984, a scientist called Ken George undertook research into Middle Cornish phonology. In the resulting doctoral thesis, he proposed a new pronunciation of Cornish, suspecting "that Nance first devised the orthography, and then subsequently … thought out a phonological system to fit it" (George, 1986b:14). Like Nance, George believed that revived Cornish should be based on Middle Cornish, again motivated by the appeal of greater Celticity and the avoidance of English influence: he felt that Late Cornish was "not representative of the 'real' Celtic language as it was when almost everybody spoke it" (ibid.:45). However, instead of a synthesis of the spellings found in Middle Cornish texts, as Nance favoured, he proposed a new orthography, based directly on the sounds of Middle Cornish that he had identified. In contrast with Saunders' orthography, therefore, where Celticity was emphasised by stressing etymological connections to Welsh, George instead decided to promote maximally efficient sound-spelling correspondence in the form of a "phonemic orthography"[30] (ibid.:4) where pronunciation would be easily determined from spelling, albeit one he admitted "was not perfectly phonemic" (ibid.:96), partly in order to maintain some indication of the etymological link with Welsh and Breton.

In 1986, George published a volume that set forth his proposed revisions of Cornish phonology and orthography, stressing the need for revived Cornish to be based on "strict, firm, clear, defensible and linguistically sound principles" (ibid.:41) in order to defend it against academic criticism. As well as from Charles Thomas (see section 2.2.3), this had come from Glanville Price, who had declared revived Cornish "partially invented" (Price, 1984:134), establishing a dichotomy between "the traditional and authentic language of Cornwall" and "modern pseudo-Cornish" (ibid.). Price had gone so far as to refuse to use the name Cornish for the revived language, instead calling it "Cornic" (ibid.), although he would later clarify that this was not intended as pejorative (Price, 1998:191). George, wishing to stress the legitimacy of revived Cornish in the face of such criticism, heavily emphasised 'authenticity', asserting that "if Cornish is to be seen as authentic, then it is

[30] See Appendix 1, texts 1ii and 7i, and Appendix 2.

essential that [criticisms of UC] be examined and answered" (George, 1986b:2), and thus making the case for a revised, more systematic orthography, believing this to be the best vehicle of 'authenticity'. Like Nance, who had justified his ideological motivations for a Middle Cornish basis with reference to linguistic factors such as its more regular, synthetic grammatical system, George thus promoted his orthography's apparent linguistic rigidity as objectively correct, seeking to override overt ideological concerns. However, this promotion of maximal sound-spelling correspondence was of course in itself the result of the ideological view that suggests language should accurately represent an idealised phonological system with minimal deviation. Linguistic reasons for orthographic features are themselves motivated by underlying ideologies, incumbent on the role and form the orthography's creator believes the language should have.

In structural terms, the principal feature of George's orthography was its 'phonemic' principle. He used <k> to represent /k/ in all positions; in Nance's system, <c> was used before back vowels. He also made greater use of double consonants to mark preceding short vowels, and used the grapheme <eu> to represent /œ/, which was not distinguished from /y/ in UC. Consequently, his orthography was notably different from both English and traditional Cornish, and in all these three points more similar to Breton, appealing once again to users' Celtic identity, but situating this in a more contemporary context of similarity to Cornwall's geographically and linguistically closest Celtic neighbour.

Unlike Gendall and Saunders, George not only produced written materials, but actively took steps to implement his system in 'official' contexts, presenting the Cornish Language Board (CLB), then the main authority on Cornish (Payton, 2000a:117), with his recommendations. The CLB duly held consultative meetings where the advantages and drawbacks of adopting the new orthography were debated. An account of one such meeting, attended by forty people—a sizeable portion of the population of competent users, estimated to have numbered around a hundred at the time (MacKinnon, 2000:11)—notes that the orthography was criticised for being "coynt y semblant ['odd in appearance']" (Brown, 1987:2), but largely considered an improvement in 'authenticity' compared with UC, which, it was believed, would help attract funding:

> "An ewnans-ma a wra may fo an yeth degemerys gans an re skyansek, an re academek. … Yn ober y fyth esya martesen cafos arghans a benscolyow ha cowethasow erel. ['This correction [of the orthography and phonology] will cause

the language to be accepted by academics. In carrying it out, it will perhaps be easier to obtain money from universities and other organisations.']" (ibid.:3)

"Mes kens oll an towl a dal degemeres genen drefen y vos, pella wodher, an gwyryoneth. ['But above all, the plan should be accepted by us, because it is, as far as is known, the truth [i.e. phonologically authentic].']" (ibid.)

After a vote, where just one of the 15 CLB members was not in favour of adopting George's system (MacKinnon, 2000:12), it was accepted as a new 'official' orthography for Cornish, and would soon become known as *Kernewek Kemmyn* ('Common Cornish'; KK) at the suggestion of John King, a CLB member (George, 1993:7). This name emphasises the belief that this orthography was the most 'correct' (i.e. authentic), as well as implying a universal appeal, important for attracting new users.

In the early 1990s, funding from the EU was secured for the publication of KK dictionaries (ibid.:2), and the CLB also began offering KK versions of its examinations (Hut, 2001:12). The Gorseth, however, with its roots in the medievalist tradition and its debt to Nance as co-founder, continued to use UC for its ceremonies for exclusively ideological reasons.[31]

2.2.5 Richard Gendall and Modern Cornish

As George worked on KK, there also existed a group of Cornish users who "ha[d] become so enamoured of [Late Cornish] that they wish[ed] to emulate it as closely as possible" (George, 1986b:33). In the late 1980s, this group became more organised under the leadership of Richard Gendall, the writer of *Kernewek Bew*, in which some Late Cornish features had been used (see section 2.2.3). The form of Cornish they advocated, called first 'Traditional Cornish' and later 'Modern Cornish'[32] (MC), was notably different from both

[31] http://gorsedhkernow.org.uk/archivedsite/kernewek/dynargh.htm (accessed 28 March 2016) states "Y hwrug devnydh Gorsedh Kernow a'n lytherenans Kernewek Unys rag hy negys oll bys ha'n Kuntelles Kemyn Bledhenyek mis Metheven 2009 may hwrug hi degemeres an Furv Savonek Skrifys (FSS)" ('the Cornish Gorseth used Unified Cornish spelling for all its business until the AGM in June 2009 when it accepted the Standard Written Form').

[32] The name of this orthography often causes problems: 'Traditional Cornish' can be confused with the term in the sense that it is used elsewhere in this thesis, while 'Modern Cornish' has tended to be avoided by supporters of other orthographies, who have occasionally used the phrase 'modern Cornish' in reference to their own varieties (e.g. in the title of Brown, 2001) in order to stress their appropriateness for 'modern' users of the language. They prefer to call Gendall's variety 'Late Cornish', although this too can be ambiguous, as it can be confused with traditional Late Cornish. 'Modern Cornish' (MC)

UC and KK as a result of this Late Cornish basis, resulting in a number of grammatical as well as orthographic differences, the latter of which included the use of word-final silent <e> after long vowels, and of <dg> or <g> to represent /dʒ/, both practices found in English.[33] UC and KK users, however, disapproved of this "Cornish in an English style" (Hodge, 2005:17).

Another aspect of MC orthography that caused problems was its fluidity. Even though Gendall's authority on the matter was paramount, and he alone established most of MC's linguistic features, he never set forth a comprehensive explanation of its principles, instead producing multiple works over some years, in which he constantly revised the orthography. This can be illustrated using the word for 'Cornish' itself: we find "Cornoack" (Gendall, 1988a:2), "Curnoack" (Gendall, 1992), and "Kernuack" (Gendall, 1997:iii). Despite recognising the difficulties this caused, and asserting that "now is the time to sort out our orthography" in 1994 (Gendall, 1994:5), even in 2005 there was still no definitive version. A letter from Gendall from this time indicates that he and his colleagues were in the process of choosing between three orthographies, and accordingly three spellings of the word for 'Cornish': *Curnooack*, *Kernuak* and *Kernûak* (Gendall, 2005:4).

Gendall felt that MC appealed to intuition, being "immediately identifiable to anyone who can read a signpost" (Gendall, 1988b:3), given that its orthography was closest to the form of the language that had survived in the spelling of place-names.[34] This, along with its closer proximity to English orthography, was claimed to make MC easier to learn. Its supporters believed that it reflected a more everyday kind of Cornishness than the medievalist leanings of UC and of Middle Cornish in general, and emphasised that it was based on a form of Cornish spoken more recently.[35] However, this is merely another way of relating the revived language to an idealised conception of authentic traditional Cornish: MC supporters, like UC and KK supporters, equally aspired to 'authenticity'. In a list of principles intended to guide the development of MC, chief among them was that it "must be as authentic as possible" (Gendall, 2005:1). By 2008, Gendall sought to replicate

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will be used here, as it is the name preferred by the orthography's supporters, as well as perhaps the least potentially confusing of the three.

[33] See Appendix 1, text 6, for a sample.

[34] For example, the place-name *Angarrack* would not need any adaptation to fit into an MC orthography. The recommended 'Cornish translation' of this name for use in bilingual signage—in practice, its adaptation into a Middle Cornish-based system—is *An Garrek*.

[35] See, for example, the title of an MC textbook, *Tavas a ragadazow: The language of my forefathers* (Gendall, 2000).

traditional Late Cornish as closely as possible, stating that "the matter of orthography was settled for us three hundred years ago" (Gendall, 2008[:3]).[36] This, he felt, would invalidate claims that it was inauthentic. However, for supporters of other varieties, the problem with MC was not its degree of distance from traditional Cornish, but its Late rather than Middle Cornish foundation.

2.2.6 Nicholas Williams and Unified Cornish Revised

The CLB's adoption of KK in 1987 affected its position within the Cornish language revival movement. While it had previously been the main authority on revived Cornish, its new policy meant it was "recast as a pressure group advocating one particular form" (Payton, 2000a:117). In 1990, the organisation *Agan Tavas* ('Our Language'; AT), having previously admitted only fluent speakers, was reformed to become a rival to the CLB, continuing to promote UC (Williams, 1997:3).

In the mid-1990s, a revised version of UC was developed by Nicholas Williams, a professor of Celtic Studies based in Ireland. Williams had written in Cornish in the 1960s, but later abandoned the revival as he was "disappointed by the movement's lack of any coherent ends" (Saunders, 1976:3). In the 1990s, however, he returned to Cornish, motivated by the "very unsatisfactory" KK (Williams, 2006a:131). In 1995, Williams published a comprehensive critique of both KK and MC, claiming that "in my view, Unified Cornish is by far the least unsatisfactory of the three major systems" (Williams, 1995:13). He acknowledged that the development of KK had furthered understanding of Cornish and increased the revived language's "authentic lexicon" (ibid.:100), but insisted that traditional Cornish should be replicated more closely in order for the revived language to be seen as legitimate. To achieve this, he advocated eradicating some of the perceived defects of UC by making a few minor changes to Nance's system, mostly in order to bring the UC system closer into line with actual scribal practice, and summarised by Williams in six main points (Williams, 1997:12–14) referring mainly to the distribution of specific vowels and consonants.[37] He named the resulting orthography Unified Cornish Revised (UCR).

[36] No lengthy passage in MC from 2008 is available. However, see Appendix 1, text 6, for a sample of an earlier form of MC, which takes many of its features from traditional Late Cornish, and see Appendix 2 for some features of this orthography.
[37] See Appendix 1 for details.

Orthographies based on Middle Cornish could hence be categorised as based on Middle Cornish orthography (i.e. UC and UCR) or based on reconstructed Middle Cornish phonology (KK). Relations between supporters of these different categories soon deteriorated. Williams criticised KK on various linguistic grounds, principally its phonological basis. He contended that a 'prosodic shift', changing the distribution of vowel lengths from ternary to binary, had occurred in the early medieval period, while George believed it to have happened in "around 1600" (Williams, 1996:70). This led to various differences between Williams' and George's beliefs about Middle Cornish phonology, in turn causing changes in the principles on which their orthographies were based. In his 1995 publication, Williams listed 26 criticisms of KK.[38] While a few of these pointed out contraventions of KK's principle of 'phonemicity', most took issue with George's interpretation of Middle Cornish phonology. However, as George himself had admitted (George, 1986b:24), it is impossible to be certain of a phonological system when there is only a small and fragmented medieval corpus to act as a source, and so neither his nor Williams' conception of Middle Cornish phonology can be proved to be more accurate. The real conflict between George and Williams was in their differing opinions on how to achieve 'authenticity' in revived Cornish, this being founded on ideological concerns relating to the role the medieval texts should play: whether they should provide the basis for orthography directly, or only for phonology. Indeed, both these varieties, along with MC, explicitly stated authenticity to be paramount (George, 1986b:2; Williams, 2006c:28; Gendall, 2005:1), but sought to attain it in different ways.

Williams' criticisms engendered a hostile atmosphere. In 1997, Ken George and Pawl Dunbar published *Kernewek Kemmyn: Cornish for the twenty-first century*, wherein George rebuts Williams' list of criticisms.[39] In the format of a Socratic dialogue, they discuss each point in turn, asserting that "*Kernewek Kemmyn* is the preferred spelling of almost all fluent Cornish speakers" (Dunbar and George, 1997:176). In this volume, Dunbar becomes George's mouthpiece for the more personal of his attacks on Williams and UCR, claiming that Williams "is constantly backward-looking, and thereby stuck in the sixteenth century, whereas you [i.e. George] are a realist with vision, looking forward to the twenty-first" (ibid.:170).

[38] These are reproduced in Appendix 4.
[39] George's own summary of his responses is also reproduced in Appendix 4.

The very existence of this book, where linguistic criticisms are juxtaposed with more personally-directed insults, highlights the significant role of ideologically-driven factionalism in revived Cornish. Its publication prompted similar personal criticisms from other quarters. Publisher Michael Everson, a principal supporter of UCR, published in 1999 a review of a KK dictionary focusing not on its content but rather on its typography, which he found "ugly and irritating" (Everson, 1999:243). Such criticisms were of limited linguistic value, and only increased animosity between UCR and KK supporters.

2.3 The Standard Written Form

By the late 1990s, the Cornish revival movement harboured frequent personal attacks and heated arguments: KK supporters accused Nicholas Williams of espousing "phonological piffle" (Dunbar and George, 1997:173), while Williams reportedly "entered into an astonishing diatribe and vendetta against Ken [George]" (Gendall, 2007b:1); Gendall, in turn, criticised George's and Williams' non-Cornish backgrounds, suggesting that "the main problem has been caused by the interference of Englishmen" (Gendall, 2007c:5). However, the same period saw a change in governmental attitudes towards UK devolution and minority languages. In 1999, referenda in Wales and Scotland enabled significant devolution in those territories (Bradbury, 2008:1), and in 2001, 50000 people signed a petition for a Cornish Assembly along the same lines (Deacon, Cole and Tregidga, 2003:120). Growing awareness of the Cornish language at this time resulted in a governmentally commissioned report by minority language researcher Ken MacKinnon on its situation and the activities and attitudes of its users. Speaking to KK, UC(R) and MC users in separate focus groups, MacKinnon found that at a grassroots level, revivalists considered "enmities in the past" to have yielded to a "more tolerant view" (MacKinnon, 2003). Now, the priority was "to see Cornish in the public domain", particularly in schools, which they believed would encourage child bilingualism and so ensure the language's survival. MacKinnon stressed the damage caused by factionalism, concluding that "the lack of a common written standard is a real problem if the issue of increasing public use of Cornish is to be addressed" (ibid.).

2.3.1 Context for a Standard Written Form

While the split between UC(R), KK and MC formed the most major division in revived Cornish, the orthographic situation was even more pluralistic than this. As well as the various forms of MC, and the minor differences between UCR and UC, which was still used by the Cornish Gorseth and by some individuals, a number of smaller variant

orthographies were also in personal use. In a 2005 article, Ken George describes four of these: Tim Saunders continued to use his own orthography in published poetry (e.g. in Saunders, 2006:118ff.), while one Cornish user had modified KK to favour an earlier Middle Cornish base, and another had created multiple variants of UCR, publishing a textbook using one of them (George, 2005:25).

Despite, or perhaps because of, the continued existence of multiple orthographies, it was impetus provided by external authorities that prompted eventual progress towards creating a single official orthography. In 2000, the UK signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (MacKinnon, 2000:1), and the commissioning of Ken MacKinnon's report on Cornish was part of a process leading to the inclusion of Cornish in that charter, formally agreed in 2003 (Deacon, 2007:69). The Charter's terms focus on promoting minority languages in education and the media "as an expression of cultural wealth" (CoE, 1992), and in order to fulfil these commitments, Cornwall Council and the Department for Communities and Local Government established the Cornish Language Partnership (CLP) in 2005.

The CLP comprises representatives of different Cornish language organisations, favouring different orthographies. At its formation, it included representatives of the CLB (supporting KK), AT (supporting UC and UCR) and Cussel an Tavas Kernuak (CTK; 'Cornish Language Council', supporting MC), as well as Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek (KYK; 'Cornish Language Fellowship', an organisation claiming neutrality, but which in practice consisted mainly of KK users), the Gorseth (using UC), and the Institute of Cornish Studies, part of the University of Exeter. Additionally, a representative of Government Office South West (later abolished) and several councillors also sat on its board: at the time of its formation, there was one representative from each of Cornwall's six district councils and one from the then Cornwall County Council (Lowe, 2005[:52]). When the districts were abolished and the Council re-established as a unitary authority, multiple members of the new Cornwall Council remained on the CLP.

With a single representative of the organisations promoting KK, MC and UC(R) respectively, the CLP was intended to be non-partisan, ensuring that supporters of no orthography would form a majority in voting. However, this was difficult to police. As the majority of KYK members used KK, the KYK being informally known as a KK organisation (Deacon, 2007:72), their representative was likely to be a KK user by default. Although the Gorseth used UC, its representative at the CLP's foundation was Jori Ansell,

another KK user.[40] The Institute of Cornish Studies representative, Bernard Deacon, was a prominent MC user, and chair of the CTK at the time, meaning this organisation effectively had two representatives. Any orthographies used by the councillors on the CLP added to the mix. Consequently, the balance was uneven.

The CLP considered orthographic issues from its foundation. Minutes of an early meeting note that "the [Cornish] name [of the CLP] had been agreed but not its spelling".[41] Orthography soon became a major focus of its work, given its perceived importance in fulfilling other principal aims: introducing Cornish in schools, and producing written materials for publicity and signage. Members felt that "standardisation [of the orthography] … was surely a crucial issue and ought to be the main focus of the Partnership".[42] This was soon to be the case.

2.3.2 Creation of the Standard Written Form

In 2006, work on an orthography called the Standard Written Form (SWF) began. From the outset, this aimed to involve as many parties as possible. An open conference had been held on 17 September 2005, where users of the different orthographies debated aspects of revived Cornish: three of the six afternoon sessions focused on spelling (Lowe, 2005). The CLP then invited suggestions for an official orthography. KK users, the largest single group, proposed KK for this role (Pierce, 2005[:1]), while a number of MC and UC(R) users, deciding the ideological need to resemble traditional Cornish was more important than the linguistic difference between the Middle and Late periods, collaborated on a compromise orthography called *Kernowak Standard* (KS),[43] establishing its features via email. Albert Bock and Benjamin Bruch, linguists from outside Cornwall invited to lead the SWF process, independently devised their own orthography, *Kernewek Dasunys* ('Reunified Cornish'; Bock and Bruch, 2007), drawing on the existing systems. These three submissions were examined by a 'Linguistic Working Group',[44] whose task was to

[40] As noted in the minutes of the first CLP meeting, held on 8 September 2005.
[41] From the minutes of a CLP meeting held on 18 May 2006 [p. 1]. The name the CLP took was *Maga*, meaning 'nurture'.
[42] From the minutes of a CLP meeting held on 20 February 2006, p. 4.
[43] The details of this process and list of signatories are visible at http://kernowek.net (accessed 14 March 2016).
[44] This group contained Bock and Bruch (outside linguists with a neutral position), some of the major figures in Cornish orthography development (including Ken George, Nicholas Williams, and Richard Gendall), and a small number of Cornish speakers without a background in linguistics.

"autonomously review the corpus and look at convergence and divergence".[45] The group concluded that, as no party wished to concede to another, the final SWF should compromise further and draw features from all the submissions.

In order to create this orthography, an 'ad-hoc group' was appointed, again comprising representatives of the different language associations, with a Norwegian linguist, Trond Trosterud, acting as arbiter. The members, selected for their "facilitation skills" and "commit[ment] to the process",[46] negotiated the exact features of the SWF, beginning by determining its name. They decided "the form would be termed a Standard Written Form instead of Single Written Form [as it had sometimes been called previously] as it brings users of all forms together, but the other forms will still be in use".[47] This highlights two points: first, that the SWF was intended to function as a standard orthography, but not to supplant existing orthographies. This implies a somewhat tolerant stance on linguistic pluralism in keeping with some other examples of orthographic reform: in French, for example, a "double orthographe ['double orthography']" (Catach, 1978:42) has been allowed since 1878, where the older spellings prescribed in 1835 are still permitted alongside the innovations of subsequent reforms. Second, the removal of 'Single' suggests that there was room for the SWF itself to be somewhat pluralistic in nature. This would indeed be the case, as we shall see shortly.

The SWF, "a compromise between Kernewek Kemmyn and Kernowak Standard, building on Kernewek Dasunys" (CLP, 2007[:1]), was finalised in mid-2008, over a year later than originally foreseen.[48] The document revealing its features confirmed that it was "not meant to replace other spelling systems, but rather to provide public bodies and the education system with a universally acceptable, inclusive, and neutral orthography" (Bock and Bruch, 2008:1), stating that it drew on all the major pre-existing orthographies. The document lists the graphemes of the SWF and advises on their pronunciation according to whether the speaker uses prefers a Middle or Late Cornish base, while its appendices point out the major differences between the SWF and other orthographies.

A notable feature of the SWF is its use of 'variant graphs' (listed below). The document notes that "in order to accommodate the range of variation in the modern spoken

[45] From the minutes of a CLP meeting held on 8 September 2006 [p. 3].
[46] From the minutes of a CLP meeting held on 22 October 2007, §5.3.4.
[47] From the minutes of a CLP meeting held on 24 January 2008, §7.1.3.
[48] The agenda for a CLP meeting held on 7 July 2006 states that the target date for finalising the SWF was May 2007.

language," it is "much more inclusive of variant forms than any previous Cornish orthography" (ibid.). This illustrates the extent to which revived Cornish had become orthographically and phonologically diverse by this point. However, it is odd that an orthography not intended to replace others should admit variant forms, when those who take issue with its features can avoid them by not using the SWF at all, at least for non-official purposes. As for official use, moreover, the CLP noted that "as the CLP will not be able to provide two versions of every document it produces, and since doing so would also defeat the purpose of a Standard Written Form, the number of these equal-status variants should be kept to a manageable minimum" (CLP, 2008[:1]). This creates an apparent contradiction, where on the one hand, it is stated that multiple variants coexist with equal status; but on the other, that there needs to be a single version to take priority in written materials.

The status of variant forms in the SWF is as follows. Seven graphemes, listed in Table 2, have both a Middle and Late Cornish variant.

Middle Cornish	**Late Cornish**	**Position**
<a>	<oa>	stressed
<ew>	<ow>	
<i>	<ei>	word-final
<mm>	<bm>	following stressed syllable
<nn>	<dn>	following stressed syllable
<s>	<j>	word-medial
<y>	<e>	stressed

Table 2. 'Variant graphs' in the SWF (Bock and Bruch, 2008:3)

This allows numerous lexemes to be spelt according to either Middle or Late Cornish phonology, meaning features such as pre-occlusion can be reflected. The word for 'head' can therefore be written *penn* or *pedn* depending on the writer's preference.

Additionally, users may use 'traditional graphs', i.e. "spellings that more closely reflect the practices of traditional Cornish writers" (ibid.:4), listed in Table 3.

‘Main graph’	‘Traditional graph’	Position
<hw>	<wh>	word-initial
<i>	<y>	word-final
<k>	<c>	syllable-initial (except before <e> and <i>)
<ks>	<x>	
<kw>	<qw>	

Table 3. ‘Traditional graphs’ in the SWF (Bock and Bruch, 2008:4)

This table shows that by default, the SWF favours graphemes that are not used in traditional Cornish texts. Unlike the choice between Middle and Late Cornish variants, traditional graphs “do not have equal status … and will not appear in elementary language textbooks or in official documents” (ibid.). Like KK, the SWF therefore prioritises sound-spelling correspondence over traditional Cornish orthography: its ‘main graphs’ resemble KK graphemes.[49]

Notwithstanding the subordinate status of traditional graphs, the choice between Middle and Late Cornish spellings and between standard and traditional graphs means passages in the SWF can take any of four officially recognised forms.[50]

2.3.3 Reception of the Standard Written Form

After the SWF’s details were released, the CLB, KYK, CTK and the KS group issued responses.

The CLB was “profoundly disappointed” (CLB, 2008:7) that KK was not chosen as the official orthography. Feeling that the phonemic principles of KK were not replicated in the SWF, it appealed to ‘authenticity’ by stressing the role that “phonological rectitude” should have played in the process; this, along with “pedagogical effectiveness and majority use”, should have motivated the decision rather than “political demands” (ibid.). This reaction apparently fails to recognise that “pedagogical effectiveness” was hard for any orthography to demonstrate, due to the low number of Cornish learners, which itself had

[49] This can be seen in the features given in the table in Appendix 2.
[50] Examples of two of these forms are present in Appendix 1 (texts 4iii and 7ii).

been a major reason for creating the SWF. Moreover, "majority use" and the highly subjective matter of "phonological rectitude" in a revived language certainly count as "political" (i.e. ideological) considerations. The CLB stated unequivocally that it would "continue to use Kernewek Kemmyn for its publications, correspondence etc." (ibid.).

The KYK, while claiming neutrality, also gave much weight to KK users' opinions, noting "a great deal of anger and frustration among members of the community of Kemmyn speakers[51] that their efforts on behalf of the language are so little regarded" (Rule, 2007[:1]). KK had in fact been the source of a number of SWF features, including word-initial <hw>, double consonants following stressed syllables, and the use of <k> to represent /k/ before back vowels.[52] The KYK did however agree to use the SWF, despite the fact that "a substantial number of active members of the [KYK] advocated outright rejection" (ibid.).

The KS group, mostly comprising former UC(R) supporters, issued a statement[53] that "congratulated" the CLP on its "remarkable achievement". However, the same statement claimed that the SWF contained "linguistic inconsistencies and indeed errors", and proposed "an adapted version of the Standard Written Form for immediate use". This orthography continues to be debated today in the email discussion group *Spellyans* ('Spelling'),[54] although it is referred to not as an adapted SWF, but rather as a development of KS, accordingly building on the original KS principle of closely following traditional Cornish.

The CTK ostensibly welcomed the SWF. During its creation, the population of MC users, already a small group, decreased: Richard Gendall, now elderly and contributing to the discussions by letter, disapproved of some CTK members' involvement in developing KS, expressing his displeasure at their representing MC at CLP meetings (Gendall, 2007a[:1]); Neil Kennedy, also prominent in MC orthography design, had moved away from Cornwall and became less influential in the language revival. The CTK's response to the SWF

[51] While KK is referred to as an orthography rather than a spoken variety, the concept of a 'KK speaker' is indeed possible, as while KK and UC(R) are both based on Middle Cornish, there are certain differences between their phonological systems, causing differences in pronunciation which make a 'KK speaker' identifiable.
[52] The first and third of these can be avoided through the use of 'traditional graphs', but the KK-derived forms are nonetheless found in the *main* form of the SWF, which is that used in official materials.
[53] This can be found at http://kernowek.net (accessed 14 March 2006).
[54] See http://kernowek.net/mailman/listinfo/spellyans_kernowek.net (accessed 14 March 2016). 33 messages were sent to this list in January 2016, and 78 in February 2016.

approved particularly of "the idea of two variants", "assum[ing] that these will be regarded as equal in status" (CTK, 2008:1). However, the actual features of the 'Late variant' did not always match MC.[55] Kennedy suggested to CTK members that the SWF be used, but only to avoid its becoming the preserve of revived Middle Cornish users, "thus opening the way for something very much like Kemmyn … My suggestion is that we try to move towards [the SWF], tweaking our spelling and writing as we would like the "Late variant" to look in a few years' time" (Kennedy, 2008[:1–2]). MC users were thus compelled to use the SWF, not by its own merits, but because of their need to stay within the mainstream Cornish revival, already made difficult by their use of a Late Cornish basis.

The SWF therefore failed to ideologically satisfy any of the language groups. As it aimed to suit a range of pronunciations, it could not be considered a phonemic orthography, and this was the major principle of KK; yet its prioritisation of KK features over traditional Cornish orthographic conventions meant it was equally incapable of pleasing KS/UC(R) supporters; and its mostly Middle Cornish base and the failure of the Late Cornish variant to resemble MC made it unappealing to MC users. Of course, it would have been impossible to satisfy all three of these requirements simultaneously; however, in aiming to satisfy users of different orthographies by including 'variant graphs', the SWF even failed to meet its own original criterion of providing a *single* written form of Cornish. While some research on the subject (Sayers, 2009; Sayers, 2012; Ferdinand, 2013) sees the SWF as a definitive answer to the orthography question, the language associations' reactions show that in fact this was not the case. The SWF's current status will be examined in chapter 4.

[55] See Appendix 1, texts 4iii and 6 for samples of the SWF with late variants and one form of MC orthography, and see Appendix 2 for a comparison of features.

3 Cornish and Breton

3.1 Why compare Cornish and Breton?

Comparative research on contemporary Cornish and Breton is rare. Breton influence on the Cornish language revival and accompanying cultural revival has occasionally been dealt with (Hupel, 2013; Tregidga, 2013); however, no work compares Breton with revived Cornish.

While it is true that language revival and revitalisation require different techniques (see section 1.2.1), comparing them highlights the nature of these differences; additionally, few successful cases of complete revival exist, and so revitalisation cases are often necessary comparators. Moreover, Cornish and Breton are structurally similar, having "remained mutually intelligible well into the 1500s" (Hicks, 2005:6), and linked by a common context. Just as the Cornish revival began as part of an attempt to legitimise a Cornish Celtic identity, the revitalisation of Breton was similarly motivated: in the early days of the 'Breton movement', whose first aim was to preserve Breton traditions, "l'accent est surtout mis sur la défense de la langue ['there was a particular focus on defending the language']" (Gicquel, 1960:10). This came to be positioned within a context of Celticity, gaining a more political focus after Breton nationalists attended the first Interceltic Congress[56] in 1925 and were inspired by the recent Irish secession to begin direct action against the French state (ibid.:12). It was within this nationalist group that the literary journal *Gwalarn* was founded. Entirely in Breton, it sought a "renouveau littéraire breton ['Breton literary renaissance']" (ibid.:11), encouraging a new era where Breton was no longer dismissed as the backward language of peasants, but allowed a prestige equal to French. Its editor, Roparz Hemon, would become known as a principal advocate of one of the orthographies to be developed over the coming years.

As well as the importance of Celtic identity in both cases, Brittany and Breton have been especially influential over the Cornish revival in particular. Henry Jenner's first address in revived Cornish was given at a meeting of the Union Régionaliste Bretonne in 1903 (Hupel, 2014:42), and it was "to his astonishment" (Jenner, 1904:7) that he was understood by his Breton-speaking audience. Early revived Cornish literature was influenced by its Breton counterpart (Hupel, 2014:43). Later, Ken George carried out his work on Middle

[56] This is distinct from the Pan-Celtic Congress mentioned in section 2.2.1.

Cornish phonology at the University of Western Brittany,[57] having "resolved … to learn Breton" after deciding that investigating similarities between the two languages would benefit research into Cornish (George, 1986b:23). Still more recently, the CLP appointed an advisor from Brittany during the creation of the SWF.

Contemporary Cornish and Breton are also linked by political circumstances. Unlike the other Celtic languages, neither is spoken in a devolved territory, meaning they cannot benefit from the political autonomy that elsewhere permits a greater degree of control over these languages. Regulation instead takes place at the level of Cornwall Council and the Regional Council of Brittany, equal in power to any English unitary authority and French region respectively. Expressions of regional identity and calls for devolution are therefore often reinforced by the use of the languages: on campaign posters (e.g. Monnier, Henry and Quénéhervé, 2014, plate VII) and monuments (Deacon, Cole and Tregidga, 2003:32), even on a purely symbolic level.[58] As with the Cornish language revival, Cornish regionalist politics looks to its stronger Breton counterpart: the Cornish political magazine *An Weryn*, published in the late 1970s and early 1980s, contained frequent "Breton news" items, roughly once per two issues.

Culturally, Cornwall and Brittany are again strongly linked by various "exchanges and festivals" (Kennedy, 2013:67). The establishment of a passenger ferry service between Plymouth and Roscoff in 1976 (Cucarull, 2002:120) facilitated movement between the two regions for both business and touristic purposes, and today there are 27 pairs of twin towns across the two regions (Bodlore-Penlaez, Chartier-Le Floch and Kervella, 2014:62).

Cornish and Breton therefore exist in a context of not only shared Celtic identity, but also a specific link between Cornwall and Brittany in particular. Given this link, and especially the influence that the Breton movement has exerted over the Cornish revival, it certainly seems appropriate to use Breton as a comparator when examining how this revival has proceeded. Moreover, Breton, like Cornish, has seen significant disagreement over orthographies during its revitalisation.

[57] Located at Brest: see Appendix 3 for maps.
[58] The website of Mebyon Kernow, the main pro-devolution political party in Cornwall, still contains no Cornish; its magazine, *Cornish Nation*, contains a single page.

3.2 Breton orthographies

The development of Breton orthographies over the twentieth century is covered extensively by Wmffre (2008), who investigates the contexts surrounding their creation, the relevant ideologies, and the linguistic correspondence between each orthography and spoken Breton. This section will provide a brief account of these orthographies' development[59] in order to enable comparison with Cornish. Breton orthographies often have several names: the system that Wmffre (2008) uses will be adopted here.

Unlike in Cornish, a continuous Breton orthographic tradition existed before its revitalisation (Wmffre, 2008:16). A Breton grammar written in 1659 called *Le sacré collège de Jésus* ('The holy teachings of Jesus') provided a model (Press, 2010:428) until J. F. Le Gonidec's dictionary, published in the 1820s,[60] introduced a reformed orthography. However, both these systems were appropriate only for literary Breton, which was based on the dialect of the Léon bishopric (Wmffre, 2008:8). According to the traditional description of Breton dialects, this is one of four major regional varieties of the language, the others being used in the Trégor, Cornouaille and Vannetais bishoprics,[61] although Wmffre (ibid.:2–3) points out that "it is more correct to speak of three main dialects, with Cornouaille and Trégor constituting a large mutually comprehensible dialect bloc". However, the four-way distinction will be retained here, as it is an important point of reference for Breton orthographies.

Pre-revitalisation written Breton therefore represented only one of four dialects, which came to be considered a significant drawback when the revitalisation began and the growth of Breton literacy became a priority. The first supradialectally unified Breton orthography was created in 1907 (Wmffre, 2008:24); however, it represented only Cornouaillais, Léonnais and Trégorrois. Vannetais, codified separately in 1902 (Wmffre, 2008:xxvii), was and remains notably different from the other dialects, with a "distinct identity" (Press, 2010:431) and significant phonological differences, including the placement of tonic stress and the realisation of certain phonemes. For the other three dialects, this first unified orthography, named KLT from the Breton names of the three dialects concerned, was the

[59] For samples of the orthographies, see Appendix 6.
[60] The exact publication date of this dictionary is unclear: Abalain (2000) and Jackson (1967) claim that it was published in 1821, although most other sources say 1820. Press (2010) states that it was published in 1827.
[61] See Appendix 3 for a map of these areas.

first that could represent forms of the language beyond the literary register. However, this did not meet the aim of complete unification.

In the 1930s, a new orthography was created in order to satisfy this need and represent all four dialects. Wmffre (2008) calls this ZH, due to its eventual inclusion of the <zh> digraph to represent a sound pronounced in the KLT dialects as [z] and in Vannetais as [h]. In 1941, representatives of several associations met to finalise the features of ZH, agreeing to adopt it formally. This took place under German occupation, at a time when numerous Breton nationalists supported the Nazi regime feeling it would provide opportunities for Breton autonomy (Gicquel, 1960:25). The formal adoption of ZH took place in the context of an apparent opportunity for Breton to gain a more official status with the support of the German government: indeed, Wmffre concludes that "it is German support for the PNB's[62] cultural agenda that remains the most likely explanation for the adoption of the ZH orthography" (Wmffre, 2008:170). For this reason, ZH would later be considered tainted by these associations, and its use foresworn by certain Breton writers (Wmffre, 2008:179; ibid.:182; McDonald, 1989:211).

Ideological considerations were therefore particularly significant in the case of ZH, both at its adoption and later in the twentieth century. Furthermore, its creation was felt by some users of Breton to have been rushed (Wmffre, 2008:164), with the result that it was considered a poor representation of linguistic reality. Both these factors provided grounds for developing an alternative, and a new orthography, called H by Wmffre, was created in 1955 by the academic François Falc'hun, after thoroughly studying the phonology of contemporary traditional speakers (Ternes, 1992:383). He reinstated the split between the KLT dialects and Vannetais, initially producing an orthography that represented only the former. Later, a Vannetais version of H was created, a textbook for which was published in 1965 (Ternes, 1992:285), but no attempt was made to combine this with the original, meaning that the distinction between KLT and Vannetais remained. When Falc'hun took a position at the University of Western Brittany in 1967, that institution began using H, in contrast with Rennes University, where ZH came to be promoted following the appointment of Per Denez, a prominent ZH user, in 1969 (Wmffre, 2008:249).

[62] Parti national breton, the right-wing Breton nationalist party active at that time.

By the 1970s, there was little consensus on Breton orthography. ZH and H were used by different organisations, while KLT still appeared occasionally (e.g. in Trépos, 1980).[63] In an attempt to resolve the issue, a series of talks, called the Carhaix Talks by Wmffre (2008:260), were held from 1971 to 1976, uniting representatives of various associations. Their objective was to create a new orthography that would be more linguistically accurate and less politically connotative than ZH, but could represent all four dialects. An orthography (called SS by Wmffre) was produced, but this had not been finalised by the time one of the participants, Fañch Morvannou, was offered a contract to produce a Breton textbook (ibid.:298). The premature appearance of this book, using unfinalised SS, in 1975 escalated an ongoing drop in attendance that resulted in the abandonment of the talks before the matter could be settled definitively. While SS does represent all four dialects, and constitutes a politically neutral alternative to ZH, the fact that it was never fully finalised meant it never gained widespread support.

The situation at the end of the 1970s therefore remained uncertain. ZH, H and SS had the support of different institutions, journals and publishing houses: the magazine *Al Liamm* ('The Link') became "the ZH literary flagship" (ibid.:275), while the Union démocratique bretonne (UDB), the principal left-wing Breton regionalist party, briefly advocated SS during Morvannou's tenure as editor of its Breton-language magazine (Monnier, Henry and Quénéhervé, 2014:69–70), and H became the preferred orthography of the *Emgleo Breiz* ('Breton Alliance') association and publisher (Wmffre, 2008:209). However, there was a trend towards ZH, and today it is by far the most prevalent. Still, though, the others continue to be used: "73,4% des auteurs écrivent en orthographe unifiée (peurunvan) et 14,6% en orthographe dite « universitaire » ['73.4% of writers use ZH and 14.6% H']" (Abalain, 2000:85), the other 12% being made up of SS, some KLT, and other personal systems.

3.3 Points of comparison between Cornish and Breton orthographies

The above outline shows that, like Cornish, Breton has experienced the creation of multiple orthographies, this being strongly influenced by ideological factors, and that ZH appears to be gaining ascendancy. In comparing this situation with that of Cornish, we can therefore identify criteria that may have been particularly influential in the course of the development of both languages. As the Breton revitalisation is more advanced than the

[63] This was published posthumously, but Trépos' death was nonetheless more than twenty years after the implementation of ZH.

Cornish revival, as indicated by factors such as its greater presence in the linguistic landscape, the provision of Breton-medium education, and a far greater volume of Breton-language media and publishing, referring to the former should help predict patterns in the latter.

3.3.1 Dissimilarities

The principal sociolinguistic difference between Breton and Cornish is that Breton never experienced language death, although it did decline substantially during the twentieth century, going from Breton monolingualism among half the population of western Brittany in 1902 to 85% French monolingualism by 2007 (Broudic, 2013:9–10). The persistence of traditional speakers meant textual reconstruction did not have the major role it had in reviving Cornish. However, this difference has occasionally been obscured by those involved in the two movements. For Cornish, MC users in particular have focused on using the most recent sources possible, emphasising the apparent overlap between the last traditional speakers and the first documentation efforts by antiquarians. Richard Gendall also uses the Cornish dialect of English as a source (Gendall, 1997:vi), and states that "so recently, indeed, was Cornish in use, that for Cornish people it is in a very real sense the language of our forefathers" (Gendall, 2000:i), implying a continuous link from traditional Late Cornish to MC.

Conversely, the Breton revitalisation process has sometimes ignored contemporary language. Early promoters of literary Breton favoured a 'purer' Celtic lexicon over the speech of traditional speakers, which contained numerous lexical loans from French (Hornsby, 2015:113). Consequently, these speakers, as well as feeling inferior to French speakers due to pro-monolingual state policies, also felt this inferiority in relation to new speakers, and so came to "denigrate their own variety of Breton" (Jones, 1995:430), worsening the prospects for intergenerational transmission. Among new speakers, this attitude often persists: for example, both *pellgomz* ('telephone') and *telefon* are used in Breton today,[64] but only *pellgomz* tends to be found in standard dictionaries (e.g. MHY, 1994:419) and textbooks (e.g. Delaporte, 1977:198). In the linguistic landscape, bilingual street signage contains vocabulary "dont on est sans attestation écrite depuis plusieurs siècles et qui a été réintroduit dans la seconde moitié du XX^{e} siècle ['for which written

[64] I was taught *telefon* at a Breton summer school in 2015 hosted by the University of Western Brittany, where the emphasis was on spoken Breton of the kind used by traditional speakers. *Pellgomz* is a calque: *pell* 'far' + *komz* 'speak'; the word *pellgowser* has similarly been 'invented' in Cornish.

attestation has been absent for several centuries, and which was reintroduced during the second half of the twentieth century" (Calvez, 2012:649), in an attempt to move away from French borrowings, but at the expense of the representation of traditional speakers' Breton. Focus has therefore been placed on the 'revival' of elements of an older form of Breton.

In terms of orthographies, however, the distinction between revival and revitalisation remains salient. The most significant challenge for Breton orthography creation been the synthesis of different regional dialects, which is not relevant to Cornish. However, there has been a need to decide on a temporal basis for each orthography: the late fourteenth-century language of the *Ordinalia* for UC (Nance, 1929:6), that of around 1500 for KK (George, 1986b:60), the language of the mid-sixteenth-century for UCR (Williams, 1997:5), and Cornish "as it was last spoken" for MC (Kennedy, 1997:2) and Jenner's variety (Jenner, 1904). As well as orthographic differences, this has inspired different phonological practices, even in the case of orthographies with the same temporal base due to different beliefs about Cornish phonology (see section 2.2.6). As a result, the creation of the SWF required the representation of multiple phonological realities, as with Breton orthographies, and different pronunciation guidelines for speakers of different varieties are stated in the SWF specification (Bock and Bruch, 2008:2). The eventual prioritisation of Middle Cornish forms[65] (Bock and Bruch, 2008:2), and specifically of KK over UC(R) orthographic forms (see section 2.3.2), can be paralleled by certain decisions made in Breton orthography development, such as the prioritisation of Léonais forms in ZH, inherited from KLT and the antecedent literary tradition.

3.3.2 Contexts

The political context affecting Cornish and Breton orthographies has often caused comparable circumstances for their development and implementation: for example, ZH and the SWF were both created and adopted as a result of greater governmental recognition. In both cases, the opportunity to increase use of the language in public life provided an impetus, coming from the occupying German authorities in the case of ZH (Wmffre, 2008:70–71) and the British government for the SWF, providing for the first time an opportunity to introduce Cornish into state education and local governance (Sayers, 2012:108). In the case of Breton, the adoption of orthographies by educational institutions

[65] None of the four major Breton dialects is the source of another, but Late Cornish is evidently the result of chronological development from Middle Cornish. The SWF is angled more towards Middle Cornish for the reason that Late Cornish features, such as vowel mergers, are easier to derive from Middle Cornish orthography than vice versa.

ensured their spread: H gained use as the preferred form of the University of Western Brittany, where it was "the only official orthography admitted" (Wmffre, 2008:250) for a time—while a major success for ZH was its adoption by Breton immersion schools (recounted in McDonald, 1989:211–2). For Cornish, education was a major reason for creating the SWF, given that the language was due to be included in the Languages Ladder[66] (Croome, 2015:116). However, funding for this part of the curriculum was later withdrawn (Ratcliffe, 2013), making it far harder to implement Cornish in primary schools.

Orthographies for both languages have thus gained legitimacy from their use by official bodies, while their development has sometimes occurred as the result of an external political impetus, as in the cases of ZH and the SWF. Orthography development of this type, and the drive for an official or standard orthography, is linked with a perceived need to assimilate to the structure of national languages by imitating their comparatively securely codified framework, befitting the ideology of progress and modernity. The natural response to support from the state is to model the minority language in the image of the national language, in such actions as the establishment of regulatory bodies (see section 4.2) as well as orthography standardisation. However, given the more restricted use of minority languages and the different domains in which they are used—traditional speakers of Breton often speaking the language only within their local area, for example (Jones, 1995:436)—this may not be the most appropriate way forward.

3.3.3 Creators

As designated official orthographies, ZH and the SWF were created by similar means, involving a series of meetings attended by users of different varieties. Likewise, SS, another attempt to produce a unified Breton orthography, was created in this way. In contrast, H resulted from the research of an individual, François Falc'hun, while on the Cornish side, KK emerged from Ken George's doctoral thesis: both arose as 'challenger' orthographies. However, KK was more successful than H in that it became the dominant Cornish orthography until the creation of the SWF, its supporters calling it "the preferred spelling of almost all fluent Cornish speakers" (Dunbar and George, 1997:176). As with ZH and the SWF, KK's position as the preferred orthography of the CLB was gained

[66] This was part of the National Languages Strategy, a government initiative that promoted second language teaching in state schools. The Languages Ladder was a scheme that assessed language learning on six levels, from recognition of basic phrases to native-level fluency, and was designed to be integrated into UK language teaching from Key Stage Two (ages 7–11) to university level.

through meetings and votes. The narrative of a successful orthography therefore seems to involve this formal collaborative work towards acceptance: KLT, too, was the product of the 'Entente des écrivains bretons' ('Union of Breton writers'), a group established for the specific purpose of developing it (Wmffre, 2008:24).

Like H, UCR and MC did not follow this pattern of formal committee-driven adoption, and this may partly explain the dominance of KK in the 1990s in terms of user numbers. UC, however, also lacked such a process, and yet was the predominant Cornish orthography of its time; perhaps because at this early stage, the number of Cornish users was low enough for individuals' work to gain legitimacy without such authority being required. More recently, and throughout the revitalisation of Breton, evidence of a formal collaborative process has seemed beneficial, ensuring concerns like Charles Thomas' (see section 2.2.3) do not arise.

Despite the role of committees and collaborative work, each orthography has nonetheless become associated with a 'great man' who spearheaded its creation. For Cornish, this role is taken by Jenner, Nance (UC), George (KK), Gendall (MC) and Williams (UCR); for Breton, H and SS are clearly identified with Falc'hun and Morvannou respectively, and KLT with François Vallée, who instigated its creation (Wmffre, 2008:33), while ZH became associated with Roparz Hemon (e.g. McDonald, 1989:154; Timm, 2010:726), who produced numerous textbooks and dictionaries using it. The SWF, not yet ten years old, is not yet linked with any particular figure: in time, it will perhaps become associated with Albert Bock and Benjamin Bruch, who oversaw its creation. However, neither lives in Cornwall or is otherwise associated with the Cornish revival, and their external position increases SWF's claim to ideological neutrality, similarly to how modern standard Irish is officially the product of anonymous authorship (Ó hIfearnáin, 2008:123). The choice of outside linguists for this role indicates an awareness of the possible drawbacks of associating orthographies with personalities: indeed, Neil Kennedy had called for "a reduced focus on male egos and intellectual ownership" (Kennedy, 2005b[:28]). Associating each orthography with a particular father figure grants that person ultimate power over that orthography, mitigating any consensus conveyed by collaborative consultative processes. It also encourages overly personal and emotional responses to particular orthographies, clear in the writings of Richard Gendall, who criticises rivals for their lack of Cornish heritage (Gendall, 2007c:5), and elsewhere, where KK supporters are

decried as “false prophets” undoing the work of Nance, “the grandest of Grand Bards”[67] (Pool, 1991:11).

3.3.4 Ideologies

Many of the points raised above recall ideological factors: the need to resemble the national language and the reliance on collective voting and institutional support are seen as political means of increasing legitimacy, while the constant associations with ‘father figures’ are also of ideological significance. Additionally, there is an emphasis on ‘Celticity’, shown not only by the role of the two movements in affirming Celtic identity, but also in the languages themselves. The case of *pellgomz* and *telefon* has already been cited (section 3.3.1); in Cornish, the variety associated with KK often uses more ‘Celtic’ words than others[68] (Mills, 2015) and manifests an aversion towards “flagrantly English borrowings” (George, 2005:29). In terms of the actual orthography, some of the most visible differences between KK and UCR, echoed by the list of SWF ‘traditional graphs’ (given in Table 3), are caused by the fact that UCR and ‘traditional graphs’ are similar to English orthographic conventions, while KK and ‘main graphs’ are not.[69] As mentioned in section 2.2.6, KK supporters are more opposed to the notion of an ‘English’ style orthography than UC(R) users, and this non-linguistic ideological factor is the major cause of difference between the two categories of Middle Cornish-based orthography. In Breton, ideology plays a similar role, with the political connotations of ZH a major reason for the use of alternatives, and support for different orthographies formerly drawn on explicitly party-political lines (McDonald, 1989:211–2).[70] In both cases, non-linguistic ideological considerations seem more salient, and are certainly more visible, than linguistic ones, which nonetheless themselves carry ideological significance, albeit one cloaked in ostensible objectivity.

Despite certain differences between the situations of Cornish and Breton, various similarities can therefore be observed linking the processes of orthography development

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[67] ‘Grand Bard’ is the title given to the leader of the Cornish Gorseth. Now a three-year position, it was originally held for life, with Henry Jenner the first Grand Bard and Robert Morton Nance the second.

[68] Mills (2015) gives several examples of this, including *alargh* (‘swan’) where *swan* is found in other varieties; likewise, *avon* (‘river’) rather than *ryver* and *telynn* (‘harp’) rather than *harp*. *Alargh, avon* and *telynn* all derive from Old Cornish and have cognates in both modern Welsh and Breton; *swan, ryver* and *harp* are attested in Middle Cornish.

[69] See Appendix 1, texts 1ii (KK), 4ii (UCR) and 7i (KK), and Appendix 2.

[70] The relevant passage is quoted in section 4.3.

for the two languages. These similarities highlight both the large role played by ideological and emotional factors and the extent to which impetus from external official bodies has been a major force behind significant decisions around orthography implementation, revealing the importance of political circumstance in both cases. It is reasonable to believe that likewise, other languages undergoing revival or revitalisation will see their development affected not only by ideological concerns among their users, spurred by the strong feelings of identity that accompany these processes, but also by the demands of the external political situation. Non-linguistic factors can thus result in major linguistic consequences such as decisions about orthographies and their features, particularly in the case of small languages relying on external material support and on enthusiasm within the community.

4 Cornish and Breton orthographies today

4.1 Orthographic standards

Having drawn parallels between the development of Cornish and Breton orthographies, we can now examine their present state. This can help draw conclusions about the success of different orthographies, and using Breton as a model, perhaps determine how the situation will progress for Cornish.

Judging an orthography as 'successful' requires the recognition of criteria by which to measure this success. As the aim is often for the orthography in question to become a standard, evident in the use of terminology such as 'Standard Written Form', this will form the defining criterion. However, with different groups promoting and attempting to legitimise different varieties, standards can be difficult to define: the rapid pace of publications advocating UCR in the run-up to the development of the SWF (Williams, 2006a; Williams, 2006b; Williams, 2006c; Everson, 2007) and organisations' use of 'official'-sounding names (e.g. Cornish Language Council [CTK]) contributed to assertions of legitimacy, but do not indicate whether the orthographies truly gained the status of standards. For this, a more rigorous approach is necessary.

As stated in section 1.2.1, Haugen (1966) provides the classic definition of language standardisation. Where a standard orthography is concerned rather than an overall standard language variety, Haugen's processes must be approached from a different angle, as orthographies are themselves a codified version of spoken varieties, and elaboration of function is far less difficult to achieve than for the lexicon, while the process of 'acceptance' becomes comparatively more important. Haugen (1966:933) notes that this must come from at least "a small but influential group", which, in the case of Cornish and Breton orthographies, applies most obviously to the official language offices: the CLP and the Office public de la langue bretonne (OPLB). However, as much teaching occurs at grassroots level, acknowledgement of a standard orthography needs to permeate into the actual community of language users, even if this does not mean giving up other orthographies in its favour.

In examining the contemporary situation, therefore, we should investigate the extent to which different orthographies have been accepted as standards in order to indicate whether they have been successful. This chapter will explore the matter with reference to three kinds of sources: official policy, examinations, and pedagogical and reference materials.

4.2 Official policy and organisations

State protection can be extremely valuable to minority languages, bringing both social and economic benefits: protection under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (CoE, 1992) supports a language's claim to official funding, and led to the establishment of the CLP in the case of Cornish (see section 2.3.1). Official policy shows that the languages are officially recognised and acts as a set of guidelines for non-speakers who wish to accommodate them: it is therefore particularly important for assessing how minority languages sit within the context of the state and state languages.

In this area, Cornish and Breton differ. Different historic attitudes to minority languages in the UK and France have caused differences in the two countries' current minority language policies. Both are signatories to the Charter, but unlike the UK, France has not ratified it,[71] despite a promise to do so in 2012 (Cadiou, 2015:186). This position reflects the fact that since the First Republic (e.g. Barère, 1794), the state has promoted French as its only official language. Accordingly, no legislation in favour of Breton exists on a national level (Hornsby, 2010:172). However, regional language policy does exist, as it does for Cornish, elaborating on the language's official status in both cases. This can be examined to determine whether the existence of a standard orthography is implied.

As a region of France, Brittany[72] is governed by a regional council,[73] which first implemented a minority language policy in 2004 (Calvez, 2012:647). Documents pertaining to this policy are available on the regional council's website: the most comprehensive, and most relevant to this research, are *Une politique linguistique pour la Bretagne : Rapport d'actualisation mars 2012* ('A language policy for Brittany: Progress report, March 2012'; Région Bretagne, 2012b), *Charte d'utilisation des langues en Bretagne : Dans le fonctionnement et les politiques de la région* ('Charter for the use of

[71] See http://www.coe.int.en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/148/signatures (accessed 14 March 2016).

[72] The current administrative region of Brittany comprises four departments: Finistère, Côtes-d'Armor, Morbihan, and Ille-et-Vilaine. The historical duchy of Brittany also included a fifth department, Loire-Atlantique, now part of the Pays de Loire region, although recently, major campaigns have demanded he re-integration of Loire-Atlantique into Brittany (Cadiou, 2015:192). There is minimal official provision for Breton in Loire-Atlantique; however, the traditional area where Breton was spoken from the Middle Ages onwards is restricted to territory in Finistère, Côtes-d'Armor and Morbihan (see maps in Appendix 3).

[73] Regional councils are broadly responsible for economic development, transport, and education and training, as specified at http://www.conseil-general.com/regions/conseils-regionaux.htm (accessed 14 March 2016).

languages in Brittany in regional administration and policy'; Région Bretagne, 2012a), and *Pacte d'avenir pour la Bretagne/Emglev evit dazont Breizh : Convention spécifique pour la transmission des langues de Bretagne et le développement de leur usage dans la vie quotidienne* ('Treaty for the future of Brittany: Specific provisions for the transmission of the languages of Brittany and the development of their use in everyday life'; Région Bretagne, 2015).

All three documents make scant reference to orthographies. The 2015 document, focusing on Breton's role in schools and universities, mostly covers the practicalities of promoting this by describing financial support for institutional Breton courses and Breton-language media and publishing. It does not go into any level of linguistic detail. The 2012 documents contain more information on the use of written Breton, but do not explore this in depth. The linguistic landscape is prioritised, showing the need for written Breton in "la signalétique sur les terrains, véhicules, [et] bâtiments ['signage in the landscape, on vehicles, and on buildings']" (Région Bretagne, 2012a[:7]), but the process behind such signage is not divulged. In a more direct reference to orthography, it is stated that "l'orthographe est stabilisée ['the orthography has been stabilised']" (Région Bretagne, 2012b:8), indicating that a standard exists. However, this is less certain elsewhere in the document, as in this information on the functions of the OPLB, which holds official responsibility for Breton:

> "L'Office public assurera toutes missions relatives à la codification, l'adaptation et l'enrichissement de la langue. Il s'agira d'accompagner le développement de l'usage écrit et oral de la langue bretonne dans des domaines de plus en plus larges … par l'adaptation du lexique et de la norme écrite : orthographe (y compris veiller à sa bonne utilisation), normes, … ['The OPLB will be responsible for anything related to the codification, adaptation or enrichment of the language. This will involve supporting the development of the oral and written use of Breton in increasingly varied domains … through the adaptation of the lexicon and the written norm: orthography (including overseeing its correct use), norms, etc.']" (ibid.:22)

Rather than confirming that there is a 'stabilised' orthography, this suggests that the standard is less fixed. The concept of a "correct use" of spelling does imply that a standard has been, or will be, accepted, but the general tone of this paragraph indicates that this and other aspects of Breton are still under development. Emphasising "codification, adaptation

[and] enrichment" and "the development of the … use of Breton in increasingly varied domains" implies that the creation of standards, both orthographic and others, is ongoing. Similarly, the document later states that "l'Office Public de la Langue Bretonne a pour mission : de stabiliser et de diffuser l'orthographe commune, de veiller à son adaptation si nécessaire … ['The role of the OPLB is to stabilise and publicise the common orthography, to oversee its adaptation if necessary …']" (ibid.:37). This now appears to directly contradict the earlier statement that the orthography is already stabilised, instead implying that this work is in progress. However, it does again indicate that there is a standard "common orthography", without specifying what this is or how it has arisen. When Breton is used in official materials, it uses ZH: it is clear that the regional council takes this as its 'standard'.

In Cornwall, regional language policy is less developed. Cornwall is administered as an English county, governed locally by Cornwall Council, a unitary authority.[74] A 200-word written policy on Cornish was first produced in 2009 (Cornwall Council, 2009) and updated slightly in 2013 (Cornwall Council, 2013). In 2015, the Council produced a draft *Cornish Language Plan*, a much more detailed document covering the use of Cornish within the Council itself (Cornwall Council, 2015).

Unlike Breton language policy, the 2009 and 2013 documents refer specifically to orthography: they focus on written Cornish, emphasising the implementation of bilingual street signage and the use of Cornish in "Council publications and promotional literature" (Cornwall Council, 2009[:1]). Both state that "[t]he Council notes that for public use it will adopt the Standard Written Form of Cornish" (ibid.), although not whether this refers to Middle Cornish or Late Cornish variants, which are supposedly equal in status (Bock and Bruch, 2008:3).

The much longer 2015 document contains target dates for implementing certain practices relating to Cornish use within the Council. At its publication, it gained national press coverage, portraying it, inaccurately on two counts, as "a move to stop the Cornish dialect dying out" (Harley, 2015). The practices it promotes are mostly symbolic rather than communicative: as well as continuing to emphasise bilingual signage, it details plans to implement an "opt-out basis" for "bilingual business cards and email sign-offs which were

[74] Unitary authorities are responsible for education, housing, social services, transport, planning, fire and rescue, libraries, museums, leisure, waste, and environmental health (Wilson and Game, 2006:120).

[previously] offered on an opt-in basis" (Cornwall Council, 2015[:7]), and to "encourage use of Cornish greetings" of "one two word phrase" (ibid.[:9]) by reception staff.[75] This document, unlike its predecessors, makes no explicit reference to any specific orthography, potentially indicating that acceptance of the SWF had proceeded to such a point that its position no longer needed stating.

Policy documents for both languages refer at length to the respective official bodies governing them, the CLP and OPLB. This reflects the close links between local government and these language offices: the OPLB is financed by the Breton regional council in cooperation with the French state and the councils of the five Breton departments[76] (OPLB, 2015:3), while the CLP is part of Cornwall Council's remit and has several councillors on its board.[77] These two bodies are the primary official sources of information on the languages, and so their websites are an important resource, each containing an outline of the relevant language's history, information about learning it, and statistics on its use. It might therefore be expected that these websites would also give information on the diversity of orthographies.

Looking first at the OPLB website, this seems not to be the case. As in policy documents, ZH is used consistently, without acknowledgement of other orthographies. The website's account of the history of Breton recounts details of the twentieth-century revitalisation movement, mentioning those involved in the orthography debates, such as Roparz Hemon and Francis Favereau, both ZH supporters, and notes that "le breton moderne a été fixé par des grammairiens et des lexicographes ['modern Breton has been fixed in place by grammarians and lexicographers']", leading to "une langue standardisée ['a standardised language']",[78] but does not refer to orthography in this context, and does not mention Falc'hun or Morvannou, the chief promoters of H and SS respectively, despite their significant roles in revitalising Breton. Indeed, there is no reference to the debate or to a multiplicity of orthographies. News articles on the website refer in passing to "l'orthographe contemporaine ['the contemporary orthography']"[79] and "l'orthographe

[75] Presumably *Myttin da/Mettin da*, 'Good morning'.
[76] Finistère, Côtes-d'Armor, Morbihan, Ille-et-Vilaine, and Loire-Atlantique (the last of which contributes to financing the OPLB despite not being in the Breton administrative region).
[77] See http://www.magakernow.org.uk/default.aspx?page=349 (accessed 14 March 2016).
[78] See http://www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/4-histoire.htm (accessed 5 February 2016).
[79] See http://www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/evenement/892/50-actualite.htm (accessed 5 February 2016).

standard actuelle [‘the current standard orthography’]”,[80] again indicating that ZH is the standard, while its rudimentary Breton to French machine-translation facility[81] can deal with input in ZH, but does not recognise other orthographies. In sum, the OPLB website presents a sanitised view of Breton orthography, postulating a dichotomy between the historical, non-standardised language and modern standard Breton, and erasing the existence of alternative contemporary orthographies; either ZH has become so widespread that others can be disregarded, or the OPLB has deliberately chosen to recognise ZH only. The former option seems unlikely given Wmffre’s claim that “orthographic diversity” still existed less than ten years ago (2008:472).

The CLP’s website, however, is far more transparent about the existence of multiple Cornish orthographies. A dedicated page[82] provides brief explanations of the SWF, UC, KK, UCR, and MC, while a description of the SWF’s creation forms the final section of the page on the history of Cornish, entitled “The Future”.[83] The SWF is thus presented as a way forward for the language, but the same paragraph states that “[s]peakers may continue to use whichever form they wish in private life”. In contrast with the OPLB, then, the CLP not only provides information on the different orthographies, but even condones their use. However, its website is less forthcoming about the fact that the SWF comes in multiple forms. While it is possible to download the relevant documentation, which indicates that such variants exist, nowhere is this mentioned on the website itself. This is particularly significant on the “Online Translation Request Service” page,[84] where it is stated that “translations will be provided in the Standard Written Form as default”, but not whether this refers to Middle Cornish or Late Cornish forms, and there is no opportunity to state a preference. The page also offers the alternative of translation into the four main pre-SWF orthographies (KK, UC, UCR, MC), but lists their names in Cornish, not in English. This implies that these options are intended for people who already have some knowledge of the language, but if this is the case, it seems even more odd that there is no option to specify a form of the SWF. Like the OPLB’s website, this presents a front of uniformity which does not reflect actual practice; however, this is done to a far lesser extent.

[80] See http://www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/evenement/413/50-actualite.htm (accessed 5 February 2016).
[81] http://fr.brezhoneg.bzh/42-traducteur-automatique.htm (accessed 5 February 2016).
[82] http://www.magakernow.org.uk/default.aspx?page=344 (accessed 5 February 2016).
[83] http://www.magakernow.org.uk/default.aspx?page=24 (accessed 5 February 2016).
[84] http://www.magakernow.org.uk/default.aspx?page=15 (accessed 5 February 2016).

While official policy and materials produced by official bodies give insight into how the languages are presented to outsiders, this concerns only their public face, and it is also important to consider their use outside these official contexts. More meaningful within the communities is how orthographies are viewed by users of the languages themselves, and how they are presented to learners by established users. Moving down the scale from more official (i.e. language policy) to less official, the next resource to consider is current provisions for examinations in the two languages.

4.3 Examinations

Breton is far more integrated into the school system than Cornish. While Breton is taught in schools and is the subject of official school examinations (see below), Cornish is not in a comparable position. For a time, a GCSE in Cornish was available, but this was discontinued in 1996 (Hut, 2001:14);[85] the examination system for Cornish now consists of four grades, administered by the CLB. A fifth grade once existed, but this too ceased operation after only a year (ibid.).

The Cornish examinations were originally conceived for the purpose of admitting bards to the Cornish Gorseth (ibid.:12). Initially, they were administered by the Gorseth itself, but in 1967 the newly established CLB took over this function (MacKinnon, 2000:33). At this time, UC was the only orthography in general use; when the CLB adopted KK in 1987, a KK form of the examinations was made available alongside the UC papers. In 2012, an SWF version was added, and the UC version was discontinued the following year. However, the KK examinations persisted, and can still be taken today. This recalls the CLB's reluctance to convert to the SWF (see section 2.3.3).

As the CLB, promoting KK, is in charge of these examinations, KK has historically been favoured by the examination system: this orthography has therefore been the best placed for learners who wish to see their progress formally recognised. For adult language learners in particular, the majority of Cornish learners, the opportunity to take examinations can provide motivation to persevere: Harasta (2013:229) points out their significance to Cornish learners, commenting on one man's "anger" at his (Harasta's) participating in a conversation group without having taken the first grade examination. Passing the fourth grade still admits the learner to bardship in the Gorseth: in 2015, nine

[85] Cornish MP George Eustice has recently suggested that such a qualification should be reinstated, but no steps appear to have been taken to achieve this.

out of twenty new bards had followed this route (Barton, 2015). As the Gorseth is highly regarded in Cornish cultural circles, being "seen … as the symbolic and ritual protector of Cornish Culture [sic]" (Harasta, 2013:313), becoming a bard is typically considered a particular honour. However, due to the format of the examinations, becoming a 'language bard' was restricted to users of UC and KK until 2008, and since then, to users of KK and the SWF. The Gorseth itself switched from UC to the SWF in 2008.[86]

Like the CLP website's translation facility, the CLB's information on its examinations does not mention that the SWF has two versions. While its website provides past papers in both KK and the SWF, the SWF versions are in the Middle Cornish variant only, i.e. that closer to KK. The KK papers' primary status is indicated by their title, "Fourth Grade Examination" (CLB, 2013a[:1]); the SWF versions are specified as "Fourth Grade Examination (SWF)" (CLB, 2013b[:1]). Moreover, accompanying documents, including specimen papers (CLB, 2015), regulations (CLB, 2012), and the enrolment form (CLB, 2016), use KK only. Beyond stating that the option to take examinations in either of the two orthographies is available, the website does not explain this decision, or point out that that the form of the SWF used is that based on Middle Cornish. The Cornish language examination system therefore does acknowledge the SWF and allow its use, but not in a fully developed way.

Breton is far more widely taught in formal settings than Cornish,[87] and school examinations in Breton can be taken. While education in France has traditionally been highly centralised, a law passed in 1951 allowed a minimal amount of regional language teaching, "facultative et en dehors des heures de classe ['optional and outside class hours']" (Le Pipec, 2014:12). Officially-sanctioned Breton teaching was implemented from this point and subsequently increased significantly, leading to the establishment of the first Breton-language 'Diwan'[88] immersion schools in 1977 (ibid.). When the movement expanded from nursery to primary schools in the early 1980s, its leaders were required to choose an orthography; McDonald (1989:211–212) gives an account of this

[86] See http://gorsedhkernow.org.uk/archivedsite/kernewek/dynargh.htm (accessed 8 February 2016).
[87] Compare the number of Breton classes advertised by the OPLB, listed at http://www.brezhoneg.bzh/179-lec-hiou-deskin.htm, with the number of Cornish classes advertised by the CLP, listed at https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=zH5Y9gPHzd4w.k9vl0BhuE0UM (both accessed 14 March 2016).
[88] *Diwan* is 'seed' in Breton.

process. Again, it involved discussions and voting by a committee, consisting of seven parents and three teachers: ZH won out over SS by seven votes to three. From McDonald's account, it appears that again, this process was overwhelmingly driven by ideological, and clearly non-linguistic, considerations:

> "The OU [H] orthography was the first to be dismissed, on the grounds that it "divided the Breton language", was "clerical", and "smelt of French" … Dismissals of the 'ZH' or of the Interdialectal [SS] systems were usually more discreet; some whispered of the *boche* (Jerry) at mention of the 'ZH', and others groaned about the UDB at mention of the Interdialectal [SS]. … Two who voted for the 'ZH' were offspring of members of the wartime movement, who said it was an "emotional" vote for them, for their parents. Besides, these teachers did not want to vote "for the UDB"." (ibid.)

Breton is now taught in three types of school. The Diwan system, now available for pupils of up to school leaving age, is notable for its practice of immersion: nearly every subject is taught in Breton. Other schools offer a 'filière bilingue' ('bilingual stream') where certain subjects are taught in Breton, and others in French: this system is not uncommon in French schools, where there is often provision for a foreign language, such as English, to serve as the medium of education for certain subjects. Other schools offer Breton with the status of a foreign language, teaching it only in dedicated language lessons. These two methods can be found in state and private schools across Brittany; the Diwan schools are not part of the state education system, but are supported by donations rather than fees (Vetter, 2013:156).

This pluralistic approach is not reflected in the examination system, where pupils from all types of school take the baccalauréat, through the medium of French, in their final year. Accordingly, bilingual education is most widespread in primary schools and rarest in the lycées.[89] Diwan runs 43 nursery schools and 39 primary schools, compared with six collèges[90] and only one lycée.[91] In the baccalauréat, Breton is offered as a second modern language (LV2), requiring a less advanced examination than a first modern language

[89] For pupils aged 15–18.
[90] For pupils ages 11–15.
[91] See http://www.diwan.bzh/sections.php4?op=viewarticle&artid=12 (accessed 8 February 2016).

(LV1). All foreign languages offered for examination can be taken as either LV1 or LV2, while there is no provision for regional languages at LV1.[92]

Baccalauréat papers are written in ZH (Éducation nationale, 2015). They contain no hint of orthographic plurality; no reference to spelling is made on the paper. While one of the themes on the syllabus is specified as "L'évolution de la pratique du breton ['The development of the use of Breton']" (Éducation nationale, 2013:10), which would presumably allow discussion of the orthography debate, no item in the suggested reading section is on this topic: instead they cover the use of Breton in education, and statistics on its use from decline to revitalisation. Not all the items on this reading list are in ZH, however, so it is very probable that pupils will be aware of the existence of multiple orthographies, even if the curriculum does not officially cover this.

Like the OPLB, the education system therefore presents ZH as an unquestioned standard: again, it seems to have met acceptance. However, formal education is again a product of the authorities rather than of the community itself, where this acceptance may have been less widespread. Indeed, Wmffre (2008:472) notes that in terms of Breton use in schools, "the education inspectorate accepts the three main orthographies", indicating more tolerance of other orthographies than the official materials imply. Again, the public face of standardised Breton contrasts with language users' more pluralistic practice.

4.4 Learning and reference materials

Information provided by the community itself on the acceptance of standards comes in the form of learning materials, such as textbooks, grammars and dictionaries, which in the case of both languages tend to be produced by activists within the movement. Examining the number of these available in each orthography would reflect little more than which side of the debate was able to publish most prolifically: in the years preceding the creation of the SWF, numerous publications were produced by supporters of different orthographies,[93]

[92] The regional languages offered as an LV2 are Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Haitian Creole, Melanesian languages, Occitan and Tahitian. These are offered subject to availability, and in practice, an examination in a regional language can be taken only in the region(s) where that language is spoken. See http://www.education.gouv.fr/pid25535/bulletin_officiel.html?cid_bo=65827 (accessed 8 February 2016).

[93] For example, four books in support of UCR were published during the SWF development process (Williams, 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; Everson, 2007): one of these was a collection of previously published essays, while another was a third edition of the original description of UCR (i.e. Williams, 1995).

with the aim that the high volume of publications would give them legitimacy. It would therefore be more fruitful to examine how a selection of such materials refer to and explain the use of the orthographies they include: if the use of an orthography is accompanied by a lengthy justification, this may indicate that it has not been accepted as a standard, as a truly accepted orthography would be able to pass without comment.

Textbooks, dictionaries and grammars have played a significant role in Cornish orthography development. The first step in the original plan for implementing KK was to "parusy gerlyver flam noweth ['prepare a brand-new dictionary']" (Brown, 1987:3). Indeed, this (i.e. George, 1993) became a flagship KK publication, whose authority "takes precedence, of course" over other KK materials (Brown, 2001:vi). In its foreword, George provides an account of the CLB's decision to adopt the orthography, noting that a "prime purpose of this dictionary is to establish Kernewek Kemmyn as the standard orthography of Revived Cornish" and that UC was "called into question in the 1980s" (George, 1993:7), thus establishing an opposition between outdated UC and KK, its modern replacement. George's words show that the act of publishing the dictionary itself is intended to establish KK as a standard, highlighting the importance of dictionaries in the Cornish revival;[94] KK is not presented as having already gained this status.

In the UCR textbook *Clappya Kernowek* (Williams, 1997), a foreword provided by Agan Tavas states that its "current position is that [UCR] … offers a valid alternative for more advanced students of Unified Cornish" (ibid.:3). Unlike in the KK dictionary, UCR is thus not presented as a new standard orthography, but instead only as an alternative: AT continues to support UC, but accepts the use of UCR alongside it. As the differences between the two are purely linguistic, both being based on the principle of resembling Middle Cornish texts, AT's support for both orthographies again indicates that non-linguistic ideological considerations are more influential than linguistic ones. Indeed, in the foreword to *Clappya Kernowek,* UCR is mostly framed in opposition not to UC but to KK, which is considered "an artificial form of Cornish … written in alien and unhistoric [sic] spelling" (ibid.:5). In response to this "spurious Cornish" (ibid.:6), Williams claims to "hope that [*Clappya Kernowek*] will be one step on the difficult road back to authenticity and unity" (ibid.). The ideological function of this textbook is therefore even clearer than

[94] Harasta (2013:222) emphasises the importance of dictionaries for KK users in particular, noting "I saw students bringing even the largest, scholarly [sic] dictionaries … to what were billed as informal conversational events at pubs."

in George's 1993 dictionary: while that publication legitimises KK's position as a standard orthography, this one contests it, with promotion of UCR as a standard a less urgent goal.

As a different kind of revived Cornish entirely, not forming part of the ideological clash between revived Middle Cornish varieties, MC was able to stay distanced from this debate. Nonetheless, its 1997 dictionary (Gendall, 1997), like *Clappya Kernowek*, includes a foreword from an external authority, in this case Philip Payton, then director of the Institute of Cornish Studies. He claims that "this dictionary will be a major resource … a major leap forward in the advancement of the Cornish language" (ibid.[:0]). Again, Gendall does not claim to be establishing MC as a standard, and makes it clear that it is one of multiple orthographies; however, he does provide extensive explanations of sources for MC and the reasoning behind the orthography (ibid.:iv).

Early reference books and pedagogical materials were thus of great importance in establishing Cornish orthographies. Even in those not written by the orthographies' creators, a brief argument in the chosen orthography's favour is often given. The most extensive KK-based grammar explains that KK is "an improved system of pronunciation and spelling", highlights the CLB's formal decision to adopt it, and claims that it is a "considerable advance" on UC (Brown, 2001:vi). Meanwhile, an MC textbook states:

> "This book uses the form of Cornish last spoken as a community language in West Cornwall and prefer[r]ed by The Cornish Language Council.[95] It is variously known as *Late Cornish* and *Modern Cornish* and *Traditional Cornish* but none of these names is particularly adequate. Let's just call it *Kernuack*—Cornish." (Kennedy, 1997:2)

The fact that the orthography's name still needs mentioning implies that it has not won acceptance as a standard. However, elements of this passage encourage the reader to see it as one: the reference to the "Cornish Language Council" (a small organisation run by Gendall, rather than a significant authority on the language, as its name may suggest) and the invitation to "just call it … Cornish" both misleadingly imply that MC represents revived Cornish in general.

Today, eight years after the SWF's implementation, we may expect recently published materials to reflect a different situation, perhaps no longer indicating the name of the

[95] Referred to in this thesis as the CTK.

orthography and letting it represent 'Cornish' as a whole. However, this is largely not the case. Before examining such materials themselves, it must be noted that they are still few in number. While an online SWF dictionary exists, there is no physical version, giving the SWF a significant disadvantage given the important role of dictionaries in the Cornish language revival. A small number of textbooks exist, but have mostly been published concurrently with versions using other orthographies, again revealing a reluctance to convert wholeheartedly to the SWF.

The SWF textbooks and grammars currently available are *Keskowsow istorek ha Keskowsow* (Parker, 2009), *Skeul an tavas* (Chubb, 2009a; Chubb, 2009b), *Cornish grammar: Intermediate* (Page, 2011), and *Bora brav* (Prys, 2011b). Of these, only the first presents the SWF without comment, noting that it is used but saying no more about it. In *Bora brav*, Prys (2011a[:0]) notes only that the textbook has been "transcribed into the officially adopted Standard Written Form";[96] a KK version of this textbook was published at the same time as the SWF version, again showing the persistence of other orthographies.

Skeul an tavas comes in three versions: two use the SWF, one main graphs and one traditional graphs, while the third uses KS. The foreword to each one explains that the SWF was "agreed by the Cornish Language Partnership for education and public life" (Chubb, 2009b:iv), but also emphasises the writer's preference for traditional Cornish, encouraging the use of traditional graphs and ultimately asserting that "a comparison of the section on pronunciation in each of the three books will demonstrate that Standard Cornish [KS] is both the most logical and the easiest to use" (Chubb, 2009c:iv). While this caters for the choice of whether or not to use traditional graphs, it does not do so for the choice between the Middle and Late Cornish SWF, as, like all other available SWF materials, it uses Middle Cornish variants.

The typical inclusion of a rationale for using the SWF therefore suggests that it has not been accepted as a standard. Indeed, in the case of *Bora brav* and *Skeul an tavas*, its legitimacy is undermined by the coexistence of versions using alternative orthographies, and even advice to use these in preference. Other materials using these orthographies have also been published since the adoption of the SWF: an updated version of Ken George's 1993 dictionary (George, 2009) still defends KK, now on even more overtly ideological grounds. George states that "this dictionary uses *Kernewek Kemmyn* because it is the best

[96] This sentence in fact appears in the KK version (Prys, 2011a) rather than the SWF version (Prys, 2011b), presumably due to a printing error.

orthography available. … Criticisms of the system as a whole have been found to be untenable" (ibid.:10). Efforts to gain legitimacy therefore continue, but the fact that each new publication repeats similar assertions indicates that no orthography has gained acceptance as a standard.

This can be contrasted with the corresponding situation for Breton. Again, some textbooks and dictionaries provide a detailed explanation of their chosen orthography, particularly when they are among the earliest materials using it. Morvannou (1978) does not provide a linguistic explanation of SS, but does assert that "les solutions proposées permettent … de faire une avancée sensible en direction de l'unification de la langue bretonne écrite ['the solutions proposed enable a considerable advance towards the unification of written Breton to be made']" (ibid.:xv). He also provides a passage in the SS, ZH and H orthographies to permit comparison of the three.[97] Similarly, the earliest publications using ZH and H name their orthography and provide details about its principles or the context leading to its creation: the earliest publication using H praises its "qualités de simplicité et de phonéticité ['simple and phonetic qualities']" (Stéphan, 1957:6). The very first book to use ZH (Sohier, 1941) does not make this fact explicit, being a children's textbook written entirely in simple Breton, but a publication from not long afterwards points out its use of ZH and refers to its adoption as "un darvoud bras … e buhez ar yezh ['an important event in the life of the language']" (Kervella, 1947:4).

However, publications using ZH without pointing this out would soon emerge (e.g. Ar C'halvez, 1979; Hemon, 1964; Hemon, 1967). This suggests that ZH had met some degree of acceptance as a standard by the mid-twentieth century, and indeed, it is now often used without explicit acknowledgement, especially in non-linguistically themed work (e.g. Bodlore-Penlaez and Kervella, 2014; Martel, 2012). However, a small number of publications still point out their use of ZH: Chalm (2009), for example, in a Breton grammar, speaks briefly about ZH and the reasons for its creation, acknowledging it as "la norme orthographique en usage dans l'éducation, dans la vie publique, et dans l'essentiel de la production écrite et intellectuelle ['the orthographic norm used in education, public life, and the bulk of writing and scholarship']" (ibid.:13). It can be noted that unlike French materials of this type, those aimed at English speakers almost always include some mention of the orthography (e.g. Hemon/Everson, 2011; Delaporte, 1979; Conroy, 1997): perhaps English speakers interested in Breton, who are probably not learning the language

[97] This is reproduced in Appendix 6.

for reasons of personal heritage, are thought more likely to be interested for linguistic reasons and so more curious about the orthography debate.

The omission of any explicit mention of ZH in a number of materials thus adds to the trend in the other sources cited in this chapter, showing that it has become accepted as a standard orthography for Breton despite not being used universally. ZH can therefore be termed ‘successful’. For Cornish, the name of the orthography used still tends to be stated even if it is the SWF, indicating that no standard has been accepted: such success has not been met in this case.

5 Conclusions

5.1 The development of Cornish orthographies

This chapter will address the research questions enumerated in section 1.3, recalling the observations made throughout the thesis.

The first question asked what orthographies had been developed for revived Cornish, and on what ideological principles these were based. Chapter 2 described their development, aspects of which are summarised in Table 4.

Name; creator	**Appearance**	**Basis**	**Remarks/relevant associations**
Jenner	1904 (Jenner, 1904)	Cornish "chiefly in its latest stages"[98]	Supported by CKK
Unified Cornish (Nance)	1929 (Nance, 1929)	Middle Cornish of *Ordinalia* (fourteenth century)[99]	Promoted by AT (in opposition to KK) since 1989[100]
Kernewek Kemmyn (George)	1984 (George, 1986b)	Middle Cornish of around 1500[101]	Based on Middle Cornish phonology, promoted by CLB since 1987
Modern Cornish (Gendall)	Began to appear in 1980s,[102] codified by Gendall in 1990s (e.g. Gendall, 1997)	Late Cornish[103]	Never fully standardised; promoted by CTK

[98] See Jenner, 1904, title.
[99] See Nance, 1929:6.
[100] See Brown, Chubb, Chubb, Kennedy and Ninnis, 1991.
[101] See George, 1986b:60.
[102] See George, 1986b:33.
[103] See Gendall, 1997:vi.

Unified Cornish Revised (Williams)	1995 (Williams, 1995)	Middle Cornish of around 1550[104]	Revision of UC; promoted by AT

Table 4. Twentieth-century Cornish orthographies

While other orthographies have existed, including Tim Saunders' system and those recounted in Ken George's 2005 article (George, 2005:25–26; see section 2.3.1), none of these forms has been promoted by associations, unlike those in the table; they therefore tend to be omitted in accounts of the revival.

This thesis has emphasised ideological motivations for orthography development, pointing out the role of ideology in issues depicted as linguistically objective, and highlighting its importance with regard to language planning, as emphasised in other research (see section 1.2). In the Cornish revival such ideologies have often gone unacknowledged. Works explaining the orthographies have concentrated on linguistic arguments (George, 1986b; Williams, 1995; Dunbar and George, 1997); yet these depend on subjective interpretations of Middle Cornish phonology which are ultimately unprovable from the small textual corpus and in themselves fulfil an ideological function.

Chapter 2 revealed the ideologies underpinning the different orthographies and contributing to the different kinds of 'authenticity' valued by their users (see section 2.2.6). KK supporters emphasise the perceived scientific rigidity behind their interpretation of Middle Cornish phonology, the simplicity of the phonemic orthography, and the greater Celticity of a Middle Cornish base. UC(R) users also favour Middle Cornish for the same reason, but regard the texts themselves as the source of 'authenticity'. The ideologies behind MC instead favour Late Cornish, drawing 'authenticity' from proximity to recent ancestors who uttered the last words of traditional Cornish, and as in UC(R), traditional Cornish texts play an important role. During the SWF creation process, this similarity between UC(R) and MC was sufficiently significant to override the difference between the two orthographies' temporal basis, uniting them as KS (see section 2.3.2).

While these different ideologies create conflicting authenticities, the three orthographies share a focus on Cornish identity. As stated in section 2.2.1, this was a significant factor in

[104] See Williams, 1997:5.

the first days of the language revival, when Cornwall sought recognition as a Celtic nation. This Celticity has since been reflected in the orthographies, first contributing to the UC focus on Middle Cornish as a part of the same medievalist Celtic practices still mirrored culturally in events such as the Gorseth (see section 2.2.1); later, in innovative features in KK that resemble Breton (see section 2.2.4). Equally present in KK has been the intention to move away from orthographic features that resemble English (Hodge, 2005:17), thus reinforcing a separate Cornish identity. MC, while not seeking to appear particularly Celtic, has also emphasised the distinctiveness of Cornish identity in appealing to the presence of Cornish in the local linguistic landscape and learners' ancestral link to traditional speakers (see section 2.2.5).

This focus on Cornishness reflects the fact that many Cornish users see the language as a highly salient part of their personal identity. Many have made using Cornish a central part of their lives, some changing their names to make them sound more Cornish,[105] raising their children as Cornish speakers (Renkó-Michelsén, 2013:188; Sayers, pers. comm.), and reinforcing this identity by non-linguistic means such as playing traditional Cornish music (MacKinnon, 2000:10) or standing for Cornwall Council or Parliament as members of Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish regionalist party (Harasta, 2013:143). This close link with personal identity ties in with the revival's reliance on 'great men' (see section 3.3.3), and heightens the potential role of subjective, ideological influences, which, as this thesis has shown, have caused the major divisions between the orthographies.

5.2 Post-SWF changes

The second research question asked why and how the status and use of Cornish orthographies changed after the emergence of the SWF. Section 2.3 detailed the development of this orthography, and chapter 4 discussed whether it has been successful. This discussion revealed that the SWF has indeed had an effect on Cornish, but perhaps not as intended, given that the materials examined indicate that it has not been accepted as a standard. However, it has provided an apolitical alternative to other orthographies for official use, which was the primary aim at its creation. This is nonetheless compromised by the fact that the SWF comes with multiple 'variants' (see section 2.3.2), although this does indicate the continued tolerance of multiple orthographies. It has been noted that the

[105] Multiple examples of this are given by Harasta (2013:197), and reproduced in Appendix 5.

outcome of the SWF process was not accepted by a number of the organisations involved; Harasta (2013:236) recounts later disagreement over which orthographies should be used.

While the SWF is not a single, universally accepted standard Cornish orthography, there has nonetheless been a change in the way Cornish is used and promoted since its implementation. Debate is now less heated, with personal attacks having become far less prevalent in the revival movement. Indeed, the drawn-out SWF process and ongoing disagreements caused some Cornish users to withdraw from prominence (Harasta, 2013: 232–3); while this decreased the size of the already small revival movement, it cleared the way for new figures to arise, and for the community to relinquish old arguments and come together in new ways. The Cornish-language radio programme *Radyo an Gernewegva* ('Cornish speakers' radio'), presented by users of multiple orthographies,[106] is one such new institution, with an average listenership of over 400 for each weekly programme.[107] Due to the nature of radio, the question of orthographies can usually be avoided, making this a useful medium for avoiding conflict.

The SWF therefore forms part of the pluralistic landscape of Cornish orthographies, along with KK and KS, now its principal alternatives.

In terms of language policy, Cornwall Council now has a detailed plan for implementing Cornish in the public sphere (see section 4.2). While teaching Cornish in schools remains difficult due to the current political situation (see below), its use is slowly increasing in certain other public contexts, particularly the linguistic landscape. The first appearances of Cornish on signage date back to 1989 (Harasta, 2013:21), but were until recently restricted mostly to 'welcome' signs on the roads leading into towns, implying that they were intended to be read by tourists. However, since the creation of the SWF, Cornish has begun to be used on property belonging to the local police (*Plymouth Herald*, 2015) and Cornwall Council, as well as on residential street signage, suggesting a shift in focus towards long-term residents, and potentially towards communicative rather than purely symbolic uses. The SWF's appearance has certainly facilitated this, rendering the choice of orthography far easier; however, increased presence of Cornish in the linguistic landscape is due more to the work of the CLP than to the creation of the SWF directly. It is the changed status of

[106] *Radyo an Gernewegva* is produced and chiefly presented by Matthew Clarke, who was a KK user prior to the development of the SWF: the other regular presenters are specified on its website as Nicholas Williams and Tim Saunders (see http://www.anradyo.com/an-dhyloryon/, accessed 14 March 2016).
[107] Figure taken from http://www.anradyo.com, accessed 22 April 2016.

Cornish as a newly officialised language that has prompted this increase in use and visibility; the creation of the SWF has been an effect of this change, rather than a cause of the greater use of Cornish. Equally, the lessening of hostilities surrounding Cornish orthographies was encouraged by the establishment of the CLP, which forced representatives of opposing bodies to collaborate and now acts as a supreme regulatory body. Until 1987, the CLB had taken this role, but its adoption of KK meant this was no longer recognised by users of other orthographies (Payton, 2000a:117); now that the position is filled once again, the CLP's ability to arbitrate in disputes discourages such disputes from arising in the first place.

In summary, the low enthusiasm for the SWF confirms that while the status of revived Cornish as a whole has indeed changed since its implementation, this is mostly as a result of other developments relating to the general professionalisation of the revival movement. The orthographies that existed before the SWF's adoption continue to be used in publications (see section 4.4) and other non-official contexts; what remains to be seen in detail is the extent to which the SWF is also used in such situations. The next step, therefore, is to ascertain the level of use of the SWF in the private sphere by determining how users of revived Cornish interact with it in a personal capacity.

5.3 Comparisons with Breton

The third research question asked what comparisons could be made between the development of Cornish orthographies and that of Breton orthographies during its own revitalisation. Section 3.3 noted some similarities, including that both processes were spearheaded by 'great men', as well as by committee-driven talks and voting. These two factors counteract each other, the latter indicating that orthographies are legitimised by proving their acceptance and ownership by a majority, while the former suggests a continued association between orthographies and their creators even after this legitimacy has been gained, encouraging subjective opinions to retain importance. Again, this heightens the role of ideology: an orthography's credibility can be damaged by the way its supporters are perceived politically, as with ZH in the later twentieth century, or by personal opinions (see section 2.2.6).

Another comparison involved the contexts in which orthographies for the two languages were developed. In the case of both ZH and the SWF, the authorities provided an external impetus for orthography development (see section 3.3.2). These authorities were connected with the central state, which had historically been hostile to minority language users,

particularly in the case of Breton. Recent developments relating to both languages have similarly relied on state-administered aid: the CLP operates within Cornwall Council and its creation ensued from the UK government's ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (see section 2.3.1), while the OPLB is financed by the regional council of Brittany and departmental councils. Both languages constantly depend on state funding in order to ensure their continued promotion in public life. However, in the case of Cornish, the British government has recently revoked its commitment to providing funding (Cornwall Council, 2016); it is difficult to know how the revival movement will now proceed with greatly reduced financial support. Additionally, given the UK's impending departure from the European Union, its future relationship with the Council of Europe and with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages is uncertain.

This uncertainty highlights the importance of politics for minority languages, and conversely, the political role they themselves can play. Both Cornwall and Brittany harbour active pro-devolution movements, in some cases even promoting outright independence from the UK or France. As the languages are viewed as a central part of regional identity, they can be used to signal this political distinctiveness; yet they remain very much subject to the decisions made by central government. While under the power of state institutions, they paradoxically become weapons in the battles against the same institutions. This political function, and the languages' particular vulnerability to political decisions, are common features shared between Cornish and Breton, and among many minority languages.

The uncertain and ephemeral nature of state support means that orthography development is typically seen as an urgent process, with an outcome required as soon as possible while the opportunity is available. Both Cornish and Breton have experienced this: for both ZH and the SWF, the need to produce an orthography within a specific timescale meant that not everyone approved of the result: even those on the ZH committee were reluctant to use it once it has been implemented (Wmffre, 2008:143), while the SWF, despite taking over a year longer than planned to create, was rejected by most language associations (see section 2.3.3), and is still considered "ambiguous … inconsistent … [and] frequently incorrect" by opponents (Williams, 2016). In Breton, SS, also resulting from an extensive committee-led process, also suffered as a result of excessive haste when Morvannou published his *Assimil* textbook using the still unfinalised orthography, contributing to the breakdown of the talks (see section 3.2). The role of official bodies and committees, while often essential for

financial reasons, can thus cause problems due to the real or perceived deadlines this imposes.

Another similarity between the two languages is the major role taken by language associations, which have provided representatives for committees, and produced publications, including journals (e.g. *Old Cornwall*, *Agan Yeth*, *Agan Tavas*, *An Garrack*; *Gwalarn*, *Hor Yezh*) and language materials such as textbooks and dictionaries. The support these associations give particular orthographies has increased the orthographies' perceived legitimacy and helped disseminate them within the language communities, whose members often belong to such associations.[108] In seeking to legitimise the orthographies, the associations equally seek to legitimise themselves as sources of authority about the languages, by releasing publications, giving themselves authoritative-sounding names[109] and competing for government funding.

Today, however, there is some evidence of a move away from reliance on such associations, with their 'official' functions taken over by the CLP and OPLB, and their role of gathering language users together increasingly played by the internet. The *Cornwall24* website saw a discussion entitled "Single Written Form for Cornish Language" attract over 5000 comments over five years,[110] while today, there are a number of Cornish- and Breton-language groups on Facebook, where users can post messages without requiring the mediation of a management committee, and with the benefit of instantaneous communication. Use of social media also helps bring awareness of the language to a new generation, a constant concern for minority language communities.

Online communication is of course usually in written form, meaning that for Cornish and Breton, the orthography question cannot be circumvented. Posts to social media groups[111]

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[108] 37% of respondents to a survey of Cornish users in 2008 claimed to be members of at least one such organisation (Burley, 2008:8).

[109] For example, the CLB, KYK and CTK, all of whose English names are very similar to that of the CLP. It would be hard to tell from merely examining these names which of the four bodies held 'official' status.

[110] See http://www.cornwall24.co.uk/language-culture/topic601.html (accessed 14 March 2016).

[111] Facebook groups where the languages are used include, for Cornish, *I pledge to become more fluent in Cornish* (https://www.facebook.com/groups/245714002161986/, 743 members); for Breton, *Facebook e brezhoneg* (https://www.facebook.com/groups/334727793245979/, 10,765 members), *AI'TA!* (https://www.facebook.com/groups/ai.ta.breizh/, 2151 members), *Studiennadou Breizad ha Keltiec* (https://www.facebook.com/groups/412727402260733/, 75 members, few of whom use unmodified ZH in their posts to the group), among others (all accessed 18 April 2016).

certainly display orthographic variation, although this has not been systematically examined for the purposes of this research. Doing so would undoubtedly reveal interesting information in light of the orthographies' official portrayal, and would allow access to the opinions and practices of the speaker community in a way that could potentially provide a less top-down approach towards sourcing standards or official recommendations for usage, were these deemed necessary.

5.4 Orthographies' success

Chapter 4 investigated the fourth research question, which asked to what extent the various orthographies noted have been successful, taking acceptance as a standard as the indicator of success. It was noted that for Cornish, where the SWF was explicitly created in an official context, to serve as a standard orthography, the plurality of its forms and the continued acceptance of other orthographies contribute to the ongoing lack of its acceptance as the standard: even on the CLP's website, the other orthographies are acknowledged. For Breton, on the other hand, the creation of H and SS ultimately failed to disrupt the status of ZH as standard orthography, despite their initial support from the University of Western Brittany and the participants in the Carhaix Talks (see section 3.2) respectively. The eventual acceptance of ZH as a standard, and its portrayal as the only orthography in language policy and on the OPLB website (see section 4.2), suggests a trend in Breton language policy to assimilate to the French tradition whereby a single incontestable standard reigns supreme.

Language planning concerning both languages continues to assert the dominance of the standard (ZH) or intended standard (the SWF), as the theories of Haugen (1966) and Lodge (1993) indicate is necessary (see section 1.2.1). For Cornish, the focus on the linguistic landscape continues in the codification of place-names, carried out by a 'Signage Panel' appointed by the CLP, with the aim of continuing to expand the system of bilingual street signs in Cornwall. For Breton, the maintenance of the ZH standard also involves codification: the OPLB is currently working on an authoritative dictionary of historical attestations,[112] as well as deciding on new lexemes. However, it is interesting to note that it encourages members of the public to participate in the latter process, asking them to

[112] See http://meurgorf.brezhoneg.bzh/page/index/pr__sentation_du_projet (accessed 14 March 2016).

suggest and vote on translations of French terms via a dedicated online portal.[113] As with the fact that social media groups are taking over the functions of the old denominational language associations, this is another case where different groups can be easily brought together, and where the public can have a say in official language planning activities. Through the internet, the distinction between top-down and bottom-up processes can perhaps be made easier to surmount; however, the OPLB's position as supreme authority on Breton, effectively the equivalent of the French Academy, continues.

For Cornish, at the time of writing, certain functions of the CLP are being transferred to an *Akademi Kernewek* ('Cornish Academy'), with the CLP retaining responsibility for promoting the use of the language. While little information on the *Akademi*'s activities is yet available due to current uncertainties over funding, its new website states that it is responsible for dictionary development, "terminology", place-names and "research".[114] The first three of these functions relate directly to language planning: to use the terminology of this field (see section 1.2.1), the CLP continues to take charge of acquisition planning and status planning, while the *Akademi* is now responsible for corpus planning.

The structure of the *Akademi* consists of an appointed panel for each its four functions, overseen by a management committee, and is in this respect similar to the CLP.[115] However, the fact that the SWF now exists means the need to ensure a balance between users of different orthographies is no longer considered paramount, and while the four panels contain users of multiple orthographies, the management committee consists overwhelmingly of current or former KK users.[116] Given that KK is still used by the CLB and publications using it are still produced (see section 4.4), it does not seem unreasonable to assume that KK will continue to be used by these *Akademi* members, despite its absence from official contexts. If the increasingly official status of Cornish does result in a de facto standard orthography, as it appears to have done for Breton, KK seems just as likely as the SWF to take this position; or, given the closeness between KK and the most widely used

[113] See http://www.brezhoneg.bzh/89-forom-termenadurezh.htm (accessed 14 March 2016).
[114] See http://akademikernewek.org.uk/ (accessed 25 August 2016).
[115] The CLP is currently being scaled down, and some of its original panels, such as the 'Signage Panel', are now replaced by their *Akademi* equivalents. However, the outcome of this reorganisation is not yet clear.
[116] See http://akademikernewek.weebly.com/dyghtyans--management.html (accessed 25 August 2016).

form of the SWF,[117] the two will perhaps eventually coalesce so as to become indistinguishable before taking up the position as standard. Additionally, it can be noted that the name *Akademi* implies that as with the OPLB, there exists a desire to emulate the French model, where the appointed body becomes the last word on matters concerning the language. The effects of the *Akademi* remain to be seen, but if it takes this supreme role, Cornish language planning may become more centralised and the role of small associations weakened. While this may prevent infighting of the kind seen during the orthography debates, it also has the potential to exclude the general speaker community and so harm the still very small revival movement.

5.5 Overall conclusions

In investigating the development of orthographies for revived Cornish from a sociolinguistic perspective, this thesis has highlighted the prominent role of ideological and contextual factors. For both Cornish and Breton, current portrayals of different orthographies in language policy, examinations and learning resources show that despite particular efforts to establish standard orthographies, multiple alternatives persist, and in the case of Cornish, no single standard has emerged. Continued division among factions with competing ideological views has in some respects undoubtedly caused harm to both languages, provoking enmities among their defenders resulting in a lack of the unity needed by a minority language in the face of little support from outside its own community. However, it has equally prompted in-depth research into the languages and their history, which in the case of Cornish led to "the production of publications and learning materials on an unprecedented scale" (MacKinnon, 2000:13). The significant role played by ideology has therefore been a double-edged sword.

This thesis has confirmed that even within minority language communities, where such a wide range of competing attitudes and concerns might not have been expected among such a small population of language users, orthography development is still heavily influenced by ideology and by the wider political context; non-linguistic matters are often considered much more significant than linguistic ones by the community of language users. It is therefore particularly important to recognise the diversity of ideologies and opinions that intersect within minority language communities to construct a multifaceted group identity. At first glance, it is easy to believe that the common identity shared by group members is

[117] See Appendix 1, text 7.

constructed by a specific set of ideologies; imposing orthographies that use features reflecting these ideologies (such as more medieval- and Celtic-based features in the most commonly used form of the SWF) risks marginalising those users who do not identify with these prevalent, but not universal, beliefs. For this reason, attempting to standardise minority language orthographies should involve careful consideration of the ideological forces present, and an approach that tolerates pluralism should be promoted, rather than modelling the minority language on the highly codified nature of many national languages.[118] The smaller size of minority language communities and their different functions from national languages allow a different approach to language standardisation, which should be explored in order to encourage the preservation of diversity within the community of users, as well as attraction to potential new speakers with equally diverse reasons for learning the language.

[118] This is the case for Corsican, where instead of imposing a standard, the authorities promote a 'polynomic' approach, valuing each dialect equally and founding the linguistic identity of Corsica on this pluralism (Jaffe, 2007).

Appendix 1: Samples

This appendix presents examples of various traditional and revived Cornish orthographies. In the absence of a single text that has been adapted into all orthographies, texts are presented in pairs or groups where possible in order to emphasise the salient features of each system. These features are briefly discussed following the texts.

In some cases, morphosyntactic and lexical aspects of the texts also vary across the pairs presented, due to grammatical differences in the varieties of Cornish advocated by users of specific orthographies (e.g. Lhuyd's *John of Chyannor* taken from late seventeenth-century Cornish; Nance's version based on the grammar of the fourteenth century). As these do not affect the orthography directly, and can be represented regardless of which orthography is used, they will not be commented on here.

Samples

Sample 1. Middle Cornish and KK equivalent

The opening two stanzas of the poem *Pascon agan Arluth*, composed in the late fourteenth century.

[i] Tays ha mab han speris sans
wy abys a levn golon
Re wronte zeugh gras ha whans
ze wolsowas y basconn
Ha zymmo gras ha skyans
the zerevas par lauarow
may fo ze thu ze worthyans
ha sylwans zen enevow

Suel a vynno bos sylwys
golsowens ow lauarow
a ihesu del ve helheys
war an bys avel carow
Ragon menough rebekis
ha dyspresijs yn harow
yn growys gans kentrow fastis
peynys bys pan ve marrow

[ii] Tas ha Mab ha'n Spyrys Sans,
Hwi a bys a leun golonn,
Re wrontyo dhywgh gras ha hwans
Dhe woslowes y Basshyon;
Ha dhymmo gras ha skians
Dh'y dherivas par lavarow,
May fo dhe Dhuw dh'y wordhyans,
Ha selwyans dhe'n enevow.

Seul a vynno bos selwys
Goslowes ow lavarow
A Yesu dell veu helghys
War an bys avel karow;
Ragon menowgh rebekys
Ha dispresys yn harow,
Y'n growys gans kentrow festys,
Paynys bys pan veu marow.

(Edwards, 2008:28–29)

Translation: May Father, Son and Holy Ghost give to you who pray, with a full heart, grace and desire to hear his Passion; and to me, grace and knowledge to tell it in words so that it may be to the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Let those who wish to be saved listen to my words, of Jesus who was hunted on the earth like a stag; for us often rebuked and cruelly despised, fastened to the cross with nails, tortured until he was dead.

Sample 2. Jennerian Cornish

A poem Jenner composed to his wife, printed in his *Handbook of the Cornish language*.

Kerra ow Holon! Beniges re vo

Gans bennath Dew an dêdh a 'th ros dhemmo,

Dhô whelas gerryow gwan pan dhetha vî,

Tavas dha dassow, ha dhô 'th drovya dî.

En cov an dêdh splan-na es pel passyes;

En cov idn dêdh lowenek, gwin 'gan bês,

War Garrak Loys en Côs, es en dan skês

Askelly Myhal El, o 'gan gwithes;

En cov lîas dêdh wheg en Kernow da,

Ha nŷ mar younk—na whekkah vel êr-ma

Dhemmo a dhîg genev an gwella tra,

Pan dhetha vî en kerh, en ol bro-na;

Dheso mî re levar dha davas teg,

Flogh ow empinyon vî, dhô 'm kerra Gwrêg.

(Jenner, 1904:v)

Translation: Beloved of my heart! May the day that gave you to me be blessed with the blessing of God, when I came to look for weakened words, the language of your fathers, and to find you. In memory of that bright day which is far behind us; in memory of a happy day, when we were fortunate, at St Michael's Mount, which is under the protection of the wings of the Archangel Michael, who was our keeper; in memory of many sweet days in good Cornwall, when we were so young—[but] no sweeter than today. When I went away, I brought with me the best thing in that whole land; to you I speak your beautiful language, [the] child of my mind, to my beloved wife.

Sample 3. Traditional Late Cornish (seventeenth century), Lhuyd's transcription, and UC equivalent

From *John of Chyannor,* a traditional Cornish tale.

[i] En Termen ez passiez thera Trigaz en St. Levan; Dean ha Bennen en Tellar creiez chei an Horr.

Ha an Weale a Kothaz scant: Ha meth a Dean Da an Wreag; mee a ved'n moze Da whelaz weale da weele; ha whi el dendal gose bounans obba.

Kibmiaz teag ev'a Komeraz, ha pel da East ev'a Travaliaz, ha uor an duath ea reeg thoaz da chei Teeack; ha reeg whelaz ena weale da weele.

Panna weale 'lesta geeal meth an Teeack: pob weale oll' meath Jooan. Ena chei a varginiaz rag trei penz an vlethan Gubber.

Ha pa thera duath an vlethan; e vaster thesguethaz dotha an trei penz. Meer Jooan meth e vaster; obba tha Gubber: Buz mar venta Ri them arta; mee a deska deez keen point a skeeans.

(Nicholas Boson, in Padel, 1975:15)

[ii] En termen ez passiez ƈera triǯaz en *St. Levan,* dên ha bennen en teller kreiez *Tʃhei an hur*.

Ha an huêl a kẏðaz skent: Ha með an dên ðɐ e urêg; me a vedn mɐz ða huillaz huêl ðɐ îl; ha huei el dendel 'ǯẏz bounaz ẏbma.

Kibmiaz têǯ ev a kẏmeraz, ha pel ða êst ev a travaliaz, ha uar an dûað e 'ryǯ ðɐz ðɐ tʃhei tîak; ha 'ryǯ huillaz ena huêl ða 'uîl.

Panna huêl allosti ǯuîl með an tîak: pẏb huêl ẏlla með *Dzhûan*. Ena dzhei a varǯiniaz raǯ trei penz an vleðan ǯuber.

Ha pa ƈera diuað an vleðan, e vêster a ðisǯueðaz ðɐðo an trei pens. Mîr *Dzhûan* með e vêster; ẏbma ðɐ ǯûber: Bez mar menta rei ðem arta, me a ðeska ðîz kên point a skîans.

(Lhuyd, 1707:251) Long s has been modernised to <s>; all other characters are as Lhuyd wrote them.

[iii] Y'n termyn üs passyes, yth-esa trygys yn Synt Leven dēn ha benen, yn tyller crȳes Chȳ an Horth.

Ha'n whēl a-godhas scant; hag yn-meth an dēn dhe'n wrēk, "Mȳ a-vyn mōs dhe whȳlas whēl dhe wül, ha whȳ a-ȳl dyndyl agas bewnans omma."

Cümyas tēk ef a-gemeras ha pell dhe ēst ef a-dravalyas, ha worteweth ef a-wrük dōs dhe jȳ tȳak, hag a wrük whȳlas ena whēl dhe wül.

"Pana whēl a-yllysta gül?" yn-meth an tȳak. "Pup whēl-oll," yn-meth Jowan. Ena y a-vargenyas rak trȳ füns a'n vledhen gober.

Ha pan esa deweth a'n vledhen, y vester a-dhysquedhas dhodho an try füns—"Mȳr, Jowan," yn-meth ȳ vester, "omma dha wober; mes mar mynta ȳ rȳ dhym arta, mȳ a dhysk dhys ün poynt a skȳans."

(Nance, 1949:38–9)

Translation: Once upon a time there lived in St. Levan a man and a woman in a place called Chyannor [House of the Ram].

And there was little work; and the man said to his wife, “I shall go to seek work to do, and you can spend your life here.”

He took fair leave, and travelled far to the east, and eventually he came to the house of a farmer, and sought work to do there.

“What work can you do?” said the farmer. “All work,” said John. Thereupon they arranged three pounds for the year of work.

And when it was the end of the year, his master showed him the three pounds. “Look, John,” said his master, “here is [what] your work [is worth]; but if you will give me the same again, I shall teach you a proverb.”

Sample 4. Traditional Late Cornish (eighteenth century), UCR equivalent, and SWF version (using Late Cornish and Traditional variant graphs)

Letter from William Bodinar to Daines Barrington (see section 2.1.2).

[i] Bluth vee eue try egence a pemp.	**[ii]** Ow bloudh vȳ yw trȳ ügans ha pymp.	**[iii]** Bloodh vy ew trei ugens ha pymp.
Theara vee dean bodjack an puscas.	Yth ōf vȳ dēn bohojek a'n puscas.	Th ero'vy den bohojek an puskes.
Me rig deskey Cornoack termen me vee mawe.	Me a wrüg desky Kernowek yn termyn pan ēn vȳ maw.	My rug dysky Kernowek y'n termyn my veu maw.
Me vee demore gen seara vee a pemp dean moy en cock.	Me a vue dhe'n mōr gans ow hār vȳ ha pymp dēn moy yn cock.	My veu dhe mor gen sira vy ha pymp den moy y'n cok.
Me rig scantlower clowes eden ger sowsnack cowes en cock rag sythen ware bar.	Me a wrüg scantlowr clowes ün gēr Sawsnek cowsys y'n cock rag seythen warbarth.	My rug scant lowr clowes udn ger Sowsnek cowsys y'n cok rag seythen warbar'.
Na rig a vee biscath gwellas lever Cornoack.	Ny wrüg avȳ bythqueth gweles lyver Kernowek.	Na rug evy byscath gweles lyver Kernowek.
Me deskey Cornoack moas da more gen tees coath.	Me a wrüg desky Kernowek ow mōs dhe'n mōr gans an düs cōth.	My [rug] dysky Kernowek o' mos dhe mor gen tus coth.
Na ges moye vel pager po pemp en dreau nye ell clapia Cornoack leben, poble coath pager egence blouth.	Nag ues moy avel pajer po pymp y'gan trē nȳ a yll clappya Kernowek lemmyn, pobel gōth pajer ügans bloudh.	Nag eus moy 'vel pajar po pymp y'n drev nei 'ell clappya Kernowek lebmyn, pobel coth pajar ugens bloodh.
Cornoack ewe oll neceaves gen poble younk.	An Kernowek yw oll ankevys gans an bobel yonk.	Kernowek ew oll nakevys gen pobel younk.
(Bodinar, in Pool and Padel, 1976:234)	(Williams, 1997:145)	(Bock and Bruch, 2008:127)

Translation: My age is 65. I am a poor fisherman [lit. man of the fish]. I learnt Cornish when I was a boy. I went to sea with my father and five more men in a fishing boat. I hardly heard one word of English spoken on the boat for a whole week. I have never seen a Cornish book. I learnt Cornish going to sea with old people. There are no more than four or five people in our town who can speak Cornish now, old people eighty years old. Cornish is all forgotten by young people.

Sample 5. Tim Saunders' orthography and UC equivalent

From the foreword to an issue of *Eythen* magazine, of which Saunders was co-editor.

[i] Rag hynna, ny' vu gwell ann kâs yn denythyanz agan tazow. Heb an bagaz pur vychan a' blanzas haz ann Vardhonyaeth Newyth, ny' wre ann denythyanz 'na gwul denydh vyth a Gernỳweg marnaz avél dillaz rag kudha aga phrederow Sawsneg noeth pan yzo chwanz dhedha a wari drewydhyon, keltyon, h. e. … Sawsneg ydh yw yeith Kỳzva ann Taveuz, ha' hi yw gwir yeith ann Worsedh. Nynz eus berthas yeith dhe Veibyon Kernỳw.

[ii] Rag henna, ny vu gwell an cas yn denythyans agan tasow. Heb an bagas pur vyghan a blansas has an Vardhonyeth Noweth, ny wre an denythyans na gul defnyth vyth a Gernewek marnas avel dyllas rak cudha aga frederow Sawsnek noth pan esa whans dhedha a wary drewydhyon, keltyon, h. e. … Sawsnek yu yeth Kesva an Tavas, ha hy yu gwyr yeth an Orseth. Nyns us berthas yeth dhe Vebyon Kernow.

(from Pennscriv/Penscryf, *Eythen* 8, Autumn 1978:2)

Translation: For that [reason], things are no better among our fathers' generation. Apart from the very small group planting seeds of the New Poetry, that generation is putting up no defence of Cornish except as clothes for hiding their naked English thoughts when they want to play at druids, Celts, etc. … English is the language of the Cornish Language Board, and it is the true language of the Gorseth. Mebyon Kernow has no language policy.

Sample 6. Modern Cornish

A version of the Creed of the Christian church translated by Richard Gendall. Unlike the other main orthographies of revived Cornish, no fixed standard for Modern Cornish was developed, and this text therefore represents one of a number of possible orthographic systems for this variety. However, it does provide a sample of the features Modern Cornish users were hoping to see represented in the SWF.

Theram credgy en Taze Dew olgologack, gwrear an Neav han Noar, ha en Jhesu Creste, mabe e hunnen, an Arleth nye, ve denithes der an Speres Sans, gennes an Maiteth Marrian, a borthas dadn Ponshios Pylat, ve crowsies, marow, ha anclethes. Eve a theskidnias en Effarn. An dridga journa eve a thasurras thort an marow. E geath aman than Neav, ha enna ma setha war dorn dihow than Taze; ha devezalena e ra doaz tha ry breaz war an beaw han marow. Theram credgy en Speres Zans, an Eglos Zans Catholick, cuntillian an sansow, gaffans pehasow, thassurans an corf, han bownas heb dewath. Andelna re bo.

(Gendall, 2000:141)

Translation: I believe in God the Father almighty, maker of the heaven and the earth, and in Jesus Christ, his own son, our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into hell. The third day he rose from the dead. He went up to heaven, and there he sits on the right hand of the Father; and from thence he will come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy Catholic church, the assembly of the saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life without end. So be it.

Sample 7. KK and SWF (using Middle Cornish and Main graphs)

A recipe for crêpes, taken from a textbook.

[i] Grewgh hwyppya an oyow yn bolla. Keworrewgh an hoelan ha wosa henna an bleus ha'n leth, tamm ha tamm. Gwrewgh kemmyska gans lo a brenn bys pan yw kepar ha dyenn tanow. Gesewgh dhe bowes hanter our. Gwrewgh poethhe leswedh byghan hag ynno oyl po amanynn. Gans lo vras, gwrewgh dinewi banna a'n kemmysk y'n leswedh ha kegina. Gwrewgh tewlel an grampoethenn rag hy threylya y'n leswedh. Gorrewgh war blat toemm. Pesyewgh bys pan yw gorfennys an kemmysk. Debrewgh an krampoeth yn unn worra keus ynna po kyfeyth po lymmaval ha sugra.

(Prys, 2011a:167)

[ii] Grewgh hwyppya an oyow yn bolla. Keworrewgh an holan ha wosa henna an bleus ha'n leth, tamm ha tamm. Gwrewgh kemyska gans lo a bren bys pan yw kepar ha dehen tanow. Gesewgh dhe bowes hanter our. Gwrewgh pothhe leswedh byhan hag ynno oyl po amanyn. Gans lo vras, gwrewgh dinewi banna a'n kemmysk y'n leswedh ha kegina. Gwrewgh tewlel an grampothen rag hy threylya y'n leswedh. Gorrewgh war blat tomm. Pesyewgh bys pan yw gorfennys an kemmysk. Debrewgh an krampoth yn unn worra keus ynna po kyfeyth po lymmaval ha sugra.

(Prys, 2011b:167)

Translation: Whip the eggs in a bowl. Add the salt and after that the flour and the milk, little by little. Mix with a wooden spoon until it resembles a thin cream. Let it rest for half an hour. Heat a small frying pan with oil or butter in it. With a large spoon, put a drop of the mixture into the frying pan and cook it. Throw the pancake to turn it in the frying pan. Put it on a hot plate. Continue until the mixture has run out. Eat the pancake having put cheese in it, or jam, or lemon and sugar.

Comments

Traditional Middle Cornish (1i)

Traditional Cornish of course had no standardised orthography, and consequently this sample is not representative of the entire corpus. Certain features are similar to English orthography and have been interpreted as the result of English influence: for example, the use of <wh>. However, other features point to a distinct Cornish orthographic tradition, including the use of <y> after vowels to indicate length (*Tays*). Orthographies of revived Cornish tend not to make use of this device.

Confusion is evident over how to represent /ð/: alternation between this phoneme and /θ/ is wholly lexically conditioned, and hence far less predictable than in modern standard English. The writer uses both <z> (*zymmo*) and <th> (*thu*) for this purpose, in an apparently random manner.

Traditional Late Cornish (3i, 4i)

By this point, features forming part of a distinct Middle Cornish orthographic tradition are no longer seen. Both samples show influence from English, although the later sample contains more of this. Confusion over the representation of /ð/ continues in **3i**, where it is represented by both <d> (*deez*) and <th> (*thesguethaz*). Middle Cornish long vowels have become diphthongised by this point and are represented digraphically (*dean*, *chei*). English influence is apparent in the representation of /i/ as <ee> (*mee*, *reeg*), as well as in the use of a silent <e> to mark long vowels (*weele*). Pre-occlusion is represented in the orthography (*kibmiaz*), and has occurred to such an extent in *obba* that the original nasal consonant has disappeared (Middle Cornish *omma*).

In **4i**, written around a century later, English spelling conventions are more obvious, as expected when the writer of the passage claims never to have seen a book in Cornish. The words *deskey* and *eue* appear to be based on the specific English words *key* and *ewe*, representing the sequences of sounds produced by pronouncing these words in English. *Poble* also appears to be directly influenced by English *people*, its semantic equivalent. A certain degree of inconsistency is visible in the fact that <g> is used to represent both /g/ (*egence*) and /dʒ/ (*pager*) before <e>.

Lhuyd (3ii)

Lhuyd's 'Cornish Alphabet' was intended as a phonetic transcription system rather than an orthography, but its significance for reconstructions of Cornish phonology is such that it is

important to include here. The insular characters < ƀ>, <ȝ> and <ȣ> are used to represent /θ/, /g/ and /ð/ respectively. Lhuyd also includes in *Archaeologica Britannica* a letter to the Cornish people, written in Cornish, where he uses <dh> to represent /ð/.

Lhuyd uses a circumflex to mark long stressed vowels (*huêl*) and, as by English spelling conventions, uses double consonants after short stressed vowels (*panna*). However, this is not consistent, not occurring in *ena*, for example, and tends to correspond with Nicholas Boson's version of the same text (**3i**), suggesting that Lhuyd may have used a written version of the tale as a source rather than transcribing directly from speech alone.

Pre-occlusion is notated (*ẏbma*); the grapheme <ẏ> is used to represent a central, but not always unstressed, vowel.

Jenner (2)

This is one of the earliest examples of revived Cornish, and is based on neither Middle Cornish nor Late Cornish entirely but appears more to be a mixture of the two, using grammatical forms more reminiscent of Middle Cornish, perhaps appropriate to its poetic form, but certain spelling conventions from Late Cornish. Jenner perpetuates Lhuyd's innovative use of <dh> to represent /ð/, as well as the use of a circumflex diacritic for long vowels (*dêdh*) and double consonants after some stressed short vowels (*dassow*). However, he restores the <gh> of Middle Cornish (*flogh*), which had been used to represent velar and/or palatal fricatives, these having tended to fall out of use by the Late Cornish period. Word-medially, however, this is represented by <h> (*Myhal*), and on *dheso*, where it is expected (i.e. as *dhesogh* or *dhesough*), it does not occur at all. <e> is used to represent schwa (*en*).

Jenner marks pre-occlusion inconsistently, showing it in *idn* but not in other words where it would be expected, such as *bennath* and *lowenek*. This and other features of his apparently illogical mixture of Middle and Late Cornish elements were what prompted the move towards a firmer Middle Cornish basis, as found in UC.

Unified Cornish (3iii, 5ii)

3iii, an adaptation of the same story of *John of Chyannor* found in Boson's and Lhuyd's texts, was printed in Nance's textbook *Cornish for All*, and as a pedagogical text, makes use of macrons to mark long vowels. In non-pedagogical texts, such as **5ii**, these tend not to be included.

Most features introduced by Nance indicate his shift towards a more strictly Middle Cornish foundation. The grapheme <ü> is used to represent both high and mid-high rounded front vowels, which had become unrounded in Late Cornish, as can be seen in UC *wrüg* versus Boson's *reeg*, and UC *üs* versus Boson's *ez*. Schwa is represented according to its etymology, with the result that Lhuyd's <ẏ> corresponds to a number of vowel graphemes in UC (e.g. in *a-godhas*, *agas*, *a-gemeres*). The grapheme <i> is not used, <y> being used instead for both long and short /i/. The opposition between <c> and <k> is regularised, with <c> being used before <a>, <o> and <u> (*cümyas*) and <k> before <e> and <y> *(skȳans*), as in English. Nance restores some features that had been lost in Late Cornish, including certain final consonants (*Horth*: see *Horr* in Boson) and mutations (*dha wober*: see *tha Gubber* in Boson). Elided vowels are also restored (*agas*: see *gose* in Boson).

Text **5ii**, while of a different register and purpose, and written around fifty years later, differs from **3iii** only in that diacritics are omitted; it follows the same principles of a Middle Cornish base. In the earliest examples of UC (as in Nance, 1929), the system differs somewhat from what is seen here: there are no diacritics, and unstressed vowels are often represented differently. The first sentence of **3iii** in the 1929 edition is as follows:

> "Y'n termyn es passyes, yth-esa tryges yn Sent Levan den ha benen, yn teller yu cryes Chy-an-Horth." (Nance, 1929:38)

Vowel graphemes in early UC, and in later UC texts where macrons were not used, thus denoted a range of phonemes: <e> could represent /eː/ (*den*), /ɛ/ (*pen*), /ə/ (*dhe*), or /ɜ/ (first <e> in *termen*). In the fourth of these examples, the following <r> indicates the pronunciation, but for the first three, it is less easy for learners to know which to use.

Saunders (5i)

Tim Saunders' orthography never entered widespread use in the Cornish revival, but nonetheless was a catalyst for orthographic change and does present interesting features of its own accord. Like UC, it is based on Middle Cornish, and in most respects is very similar to the equivalent text in UC (**5ii**). Differences, where they do occur, are often as a result of adapting the Cornish text to make it closer to Welsh orthography. <ch> is used rather than <gh> for palatal and/or velar fricatives (*vychan*), and the words *yeith*, *noeth* and *veibyon* appear to be influenced by their Welsh cognates (*iaith*, *noeth*, *meibion*). Other features include the use of apostrophes to mark contractions even where the contracted

element would never be present: *ha' hi* recalls the form of *ha* used before vowels, *hag*, despite the fact that it is not being used before a vowel in this case. The use of <ph> for /f/ in *phrederow* alludes to the fact that the word in its unmutated form begins with /p/, although this is inconsistent with the way in which mutations are marked elsewhere, where there is no reference to the unmutated form. Another inconsistency appears to exist in the use of an acute accent to mark stress, which occurs on *avél* but nowhere else.

Saunders uses <z> for lenis /s/, while UC makes no use of <z> at all, and represents various unstressed vowels differently from UC, using the spelling *yzo* for UC *esa*, and making use of a grave accent in the grapheme <ỳ>, again for unstressed vowels. He extends the principle whereby double consonants follow stressed short vowels to some nasal consonants preceded by unstressed short vowels, resulting in the spelling *ann* for the definite article.

Kernewek Kemmyn (1ii, 7i)

Like Saunders' orthography, KK uses double nasal consonants after unstressed short vowels in many cases (*kemmyska*, *dyenn*). However, this does not extend to the definite article (*an*) in this case. In some respects, it maintains the principles of UC, such as in the use of word-final <gh> (*menowgh*), also present in the traditional Middle Cornish version of the text (**1i**), but in KK this is also used syllable-initially (*helghys*). Alternation between <i> and <y> is standardised by the use of <i> for /i/ (*hwi*) and <y> for /ɪ/ (*kemmysk*); likewise, long /o/ is marked with the use of <oe> (*poethhe*). Unlike UC, which represents rounded front mid-high vowels with <ü>, KK uses <eu> (*leun*), which corresponds to both <eu> and <ue> in the Middle Cornish text.

Some aspects of KK orthography have been claimed by both supporters and detractors to have been deliberate attempts to move away from English orthographic conventions: these include the use of <hw> (*hwi*) rather than <wh>, and the generalisation of <k> for /k/ in all positions (*karow*). This final feature also fits with Ken George's original aim of having as close to a one-to-one sound-spelling correspondence as possible, in the form of a 'phonemic' orthography.

Modern Cornish (6)

The conventions employed in this text are not based on Middle Cornish, and hence not based on the other orthographies of revived Cornish examined, which all take Middle Cornish as a foundation for the majority of their features. Instead, the text makes use of certain features found in traditional Late Cornish, including the use of <th> to represent /ð/

(*thort*), silent final <e> after long vowels (*Taze*), and digraphic representations of Middle Cornish long vowels which had become diphthongised in Late Cornish (*Noar*). Obvious non-adapted loanwords from English are spelt according to the English of the eighteenth century (*Catholick*). Pre-occlusion is indicated (*dadn*), and <g> is used to represent the sound /dʒ/, even before back vowels (*olgologack*). Here, the first <g> represents /g/ and the second /dʒ/, this being an example of one of the inconsistencies for which MC has been criticised by supporters of other orthographies. However, this usage is not dissimilar to traditional Cornish custom, outside the sphere of the language revival, as seen in the Cornish surname *Tregidga* /trəˈgɪdʒə/ and the place-name *Ludgvan* /ˈlʌdʒvən/.

Unified Cornish Revised (4ii)

UCR is essentially derived from UC with a very small number of changes, the effects of some of which can be seen in this text. Like text **3iii**, its pedagogical nature as a translation exercise in the textbook *Clappya Kernowek* means that it includes macrons as an indication of vowel length, although as in UC, these are optional. In grammatical terms, the text is quite different from Bodinar's original, as it has been modified to fit the grammatical rules of revived Middle Cornish, i.e. that based on the Cornish of two to three hundred years before the text was written.

The differences between UC and UCR apparent in the text are as follows. The final consonants notated as <p>, <th> and <k> in UC are instead often represented by <b>, <dh> and <g> in UCR (*wrüg*). <ue> is used in addition to <ü> in order to differentiate lower rounded front vowels from high ones (*wrüg*, *ues*; unrounded to *reeg* and *ges* respectively in Bodinar's original version of the text). <ow> is used in most cases where <ew> would be found in UC (*clowes*; UC would have *clewes*).

The other differences between UC and UCR are these: the distribution of <e> and <y> is modified, with some UC words with <e> containing instead <y> in UCR, and vice versa; <ck> is used rather than <kk>; and <h> is used syllable-initially in place of <gh>.

All these changes are asserted by Nicholas Williams to have the function of bringing the orthography closer to that of traditional Middle Cornish texts (see Williams, 1997, pp. 12–14).

Standard Written Form (4iii, 7ii)

The two texts included here in effect represent different extremes of the SWF: **4iii** uses Late Cornish lexical variants (such as *nakevys*: *ankevys* in the Middle Cornish SWF), Late

Cornish grammar based on the original text, and the 'traditional graphs' listed in Table 3 (*dysky*, not *dyski*). **7ii**, on the other hand, uses Middle Cornish lexical variants, grammar taken from KK (i.e. based on Middle Cornish), and 'main graphs'. Additionally, **4iii** uses Late Cornish 'variant graphs' (*bohojek*, not *bohosek*) while **7ii** uses their Middle Cornish equivalents (*tewlel*, not *towlel*; see Table 2). As a result of these features, the two texts appear quite different. However, **7ii** is far more representative of what is actually seen, as the default version of the SWF used on public signage and elsewhere uses Middle Cornish variants, and traditional graphs are considered subordinate to main graphs.

The form of the SWF used in **7ii** is extremely close to the KK version of the text. Unlike in KK, double nasal consonants are not used after short unstressed vowels *(kemyska*), <oe> is not used to represent long /o/ *(pothhe*), and <gh> is not used syllable-initially *(byhan*), this last following the principles of UC rather than KK.[119] However, the text maintains certain KK innovations, such as the use of <hw> (*hwyppya*) and <wgh> (*debrewgh*) as a second-person plural ending (<ugh> in UC(R) and traditional Middle Cornish).

The inclusion of Late Cornish variants and traditional graphs allows the SWF of **4iii** to be somewhat closer to **4i**, although it is clearly not as close to **4i** as **7ii** is to **7i**. The use of traditional graphs means that <c> is used for /k/ other than before front vowels (*coth*), and <y> word-finally for long /i/ (*dysky*). Late Cornish lexical variants include *Kernowek* (Middle Cornish *Kernewek*) and *trei* (Middle Cornish *try*), and the use of Late Cornish grammar allows forms such as *th ero'vy* to persist, rather than being adapted into a Middle Cornish form as in **4ii** (*yth ōf vȳ*). Likewise, pre-occlusion is indicated (*udn*), and *ew* is used rather than Middle Cornish *yw*, being closer to Bodinar's *ewe*. However, not all features of the text reflect Late Cornish: the KK grapheme <eu> can be seen (*veu*), and the spelling *tus* reflects the Middle Cornish rounded vowel rather than the unrounded vowel represented by Bodinar's spelling *tees*. Additionally, the SWF refrains from using many of the digraphs seen in traditional Late Cornish and in MC, writing *coth* rather than Bodinar's *coath*, and maintains the use of <dh> (*bloodh*). Its representation of Late Cornish is therefore somewhat biased towards certain Middle Cornish forms, and is far less close to both traditional Late Cornish and MC than its Middle Cornish/main form variant is to KK.

[119] However, a review of the SWF carried out in 2013 (CLP, 2014[:6]) concluded that <gh> should be used syllable-initially (although still not word-initially): this word is now spelt *byghan*, as in KK.

Appendix 2: Table of Cornish orthography features

The following table gives details of some differences among the different major orthographies of revived Cornish[120] and their traditional Cornish equivalents, showing how traditional features are represented in revived Cornish, and which of these different representations are replicated in the SWF. As the different orthographies correspond to different phonological practices and also tend to be associated with various grammatical and lexical differences due to their different temporal bases, it is impossible to list the differences among them phoneme-by-phoneme; however, the following is a sample of some of the most salient differences between the orthographies, and illustrates the SWF's general tendency towards forms resembling those found in Kernewek Kemmyn, which in turn are not always attested in traditional Cornish.

Traditional Cornish varied widely in its orthography; additionally, Modern Cornish was never fully codified. Consequently, the features listed for these two varieties are not the only possibilities.

[120] Additional abbreviations used in this section: TradC = traditional Cornish, MidC = Middle Cornish, LC = Late Cornish, (T) = Traditional variant, (L) = Late variant

	TradC	**UC(R)**	**KK**	**MC**	**SWF Main/Middle Cornish Form[121]**	**Other SWF forms**
marking long vowels	unpredictable	optional macron	followed by single consonant	circumflex, digraph, or followed by silent <e>	followed by certain consonants	
function of double consonants[122]	to mark certain short vowels	after some stressed short vowels	after some short vowels	after certain short vowels (as English)	after some stressed short vowels	
/iː/	<i>, sometimes <ee> in LC	<i> (optionally with macron)	<i> followed by single consonant	<î>, <i>, <ee>	<i>	
high round front vowel (unrounded in LC)	<eu>, <ue>, <u>	<ü>	<u>	<î>, <i>, <ee>	<u>[123]	
mid-height round front vowel (unrounded in LC)	<eu>, <ue>	UC <ü>, UCR <ue>	<eu>	<e>	<eu>	

[121] This is the most commonly used form of the SWF in publicly visible contexts.
[122] Certain consonants are not doubled in any orthography; among those that are, doubling occurs after stressed short vowels in UC(R) and the SWF, and after all short vowels in KK.
[123] Speakers using a Late Cornish base who wish to use the SWF are advised to pronounce this as /i/ (Bock and Bruch, 2008:3).

	TradC	**UC(R)**	**KK**	**MC**	**SWF Main/Middle Cornish Form[121]**	**Other SWF forms**
long low round vowel[124] (later raised)	<o>, <u>, <ou>, <oo>	<u> or <o>	<oe>	<oo>, <û>, <u>	<oo>	
short low round vowel[124] (later raised)	<o>, <u>, LC also <oo>	<o> or <u>	<oe>	<oo> or <u>	<o>	
schwa	use of <e> and <a> rather than etymological vowel increased through time	usually etymological vowel, sometimes <a>	etymological vowel	<e> or <a>	etymological vowel	
/ð/	<th>, <z>, <ȝ>, <d>	<dh>	<dh>	<th>	<dh>	
/k/ other than before <e> or <i>	<c>	<c>	<k>	<c>	<k>	<c> (T)
word-final /k/ after short vowels	<ck>	<ck>	<k>	<ck>	<k>	<ck> (T)

[124] The exact quality of this vowel is disputed.

	TradC	**UC(R)**	**KK**	**MC**	**SWF Main/Middle Cornish Form[121]**	**Other SWF forms**
/dʒ/	MidC <j>, LC <dg> and sometimes <g> even before back vowels	<j>	<j>	<dg>, <g>, rarely <j>	<j>	
word-medial /s/ (LC /dʒ/)	MidC <s>, LC <dg> or <g>	<s>	<s>	<dg>, <g>, rarely <j>	<s>	<j> (L)
lenis /s/ i.e. [z̬]	MidC <s>, LC <z>	<s>	<s> (<z> has been proposed)	<z>, sometimes <s>	<s>	
syllable-final velar fricatives	MidC <h> or <gh>; sound did not exist in LC	<gh>	<gh>	Ø	<gh>	apostrophe permitted (L)
syllable-initial velar fricatives (LC /h/ or Ø)	MidC <h> or <gh>, LC <h>	UC <gh>, UCR <h>	<gh>	<h> or Ø	originally <h>, <gh> following 2013 review (except word-initially)	

	TradC	**UC(R)**	**KK**	**MC**	**SWF Main/Middle Cornish Form[121]**	**Other SWF forms**
TradC <wh>	<wh>	<wh>	<hw>	<wh>	<hw>	<wh> (T)
TradC <gwr>	sometimes <gr> in LC	<gwr>	<gwr>	<gr> or <gwr>	<gwr>	
/m/ after stressed short vowels (later /bm/)[125]	MidC <m> or <mm>, LC <bm> and occasionally <bb>	<mm> or <m> (UCR allows <bm>)	<mm>	<bm>	<mm>	<bm> (L)
/n/ after stressed short vowels (later /dn/)[125]	MidC <n> or <nn>, LC <dn> and occasionally <dd>	<nn> or <n> (UCR allows <dn>)	<nn>	<dn>	<nn>	<dn> (L)
/m/ after unstressed short vowels	<m>	<m>	<mm>	<m>	<m>	
/n/ after unstressed short vowels	<n>	<n>	<nn>	<n>	<n>	

[125] For an explanation of this sound change, see section 2.1.

	TradC	**UC(R)**	**KK**	**MC**	**SWF Main/Middle Cornish Form[121]**	**Other SWF forms**
2pl verb ending	MidC <ough> or <ogh>, LC <o>	<ough>	<owgh>	<o>	<owgh>	
3sg present of 'to be'	MidC *yu* or *yw*, LC *ew* or *ewe*	UC *yu*, UCR *yw*	*yw*	*ew*	*yw*	*ew* (L)
1sg subject pronoun	often *me*, sometimes *mee* in LC	*my*	*my*	*me*	*my*	*me* (L)
3sg masculine subject pronoun	*ev*, *ef*, sometimes *eve* or *e* in LC	*ef*	*ev*	*ev*, *eve*, *e*	*ev*	*e* (L)[126]
declarative particle	MidC *yth*, LC *th*	*yth*	*yth*	*th*	*yth*	*'th* (L)
English loanwords	usually spelt as in English	spelt as Tudor spelling e.g. *poynt*	avoided or heavily adapted, e.g. *erthygel* 'article'	spelt as 17th/18th century spelling e.g. *Catholick*	at user's discretion	

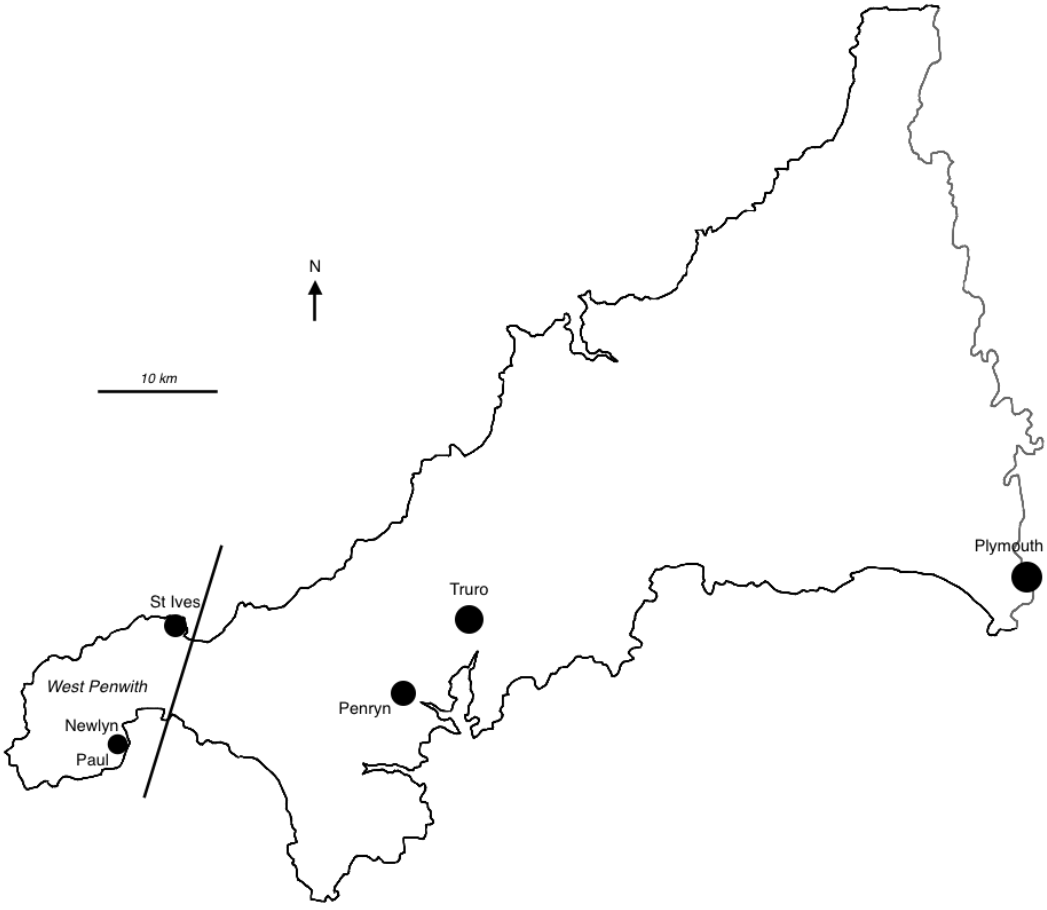
[126] This is a lexical rather than orthographic variant found in SWF dictionaries, i.e. not one of the Late Cornish variants listed in Table 2.

Appendix 3: Maps

This appendix contains maps of the Cornish and Breton mainland, marked with places mentioned in the thesis. Names, as in the body of the text, are given in English and French rather than Cornish and Breton, so as to be more familiar to the reader.

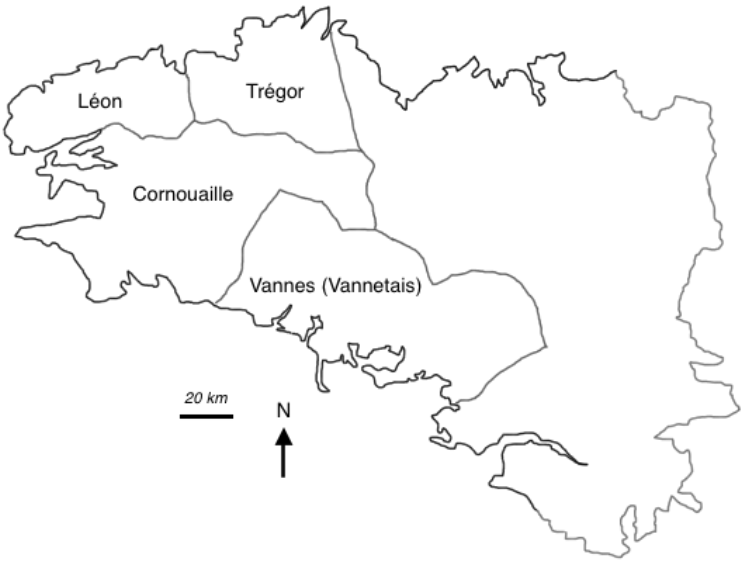
Cornwall

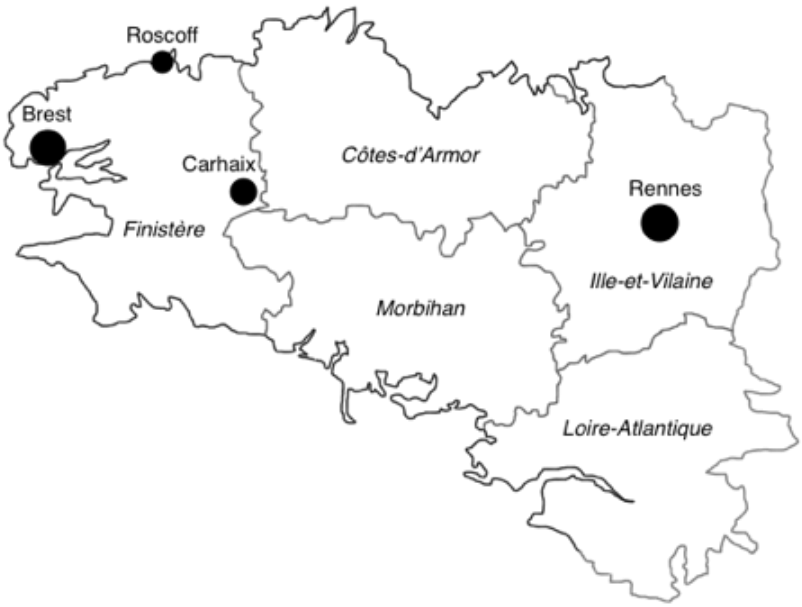
Plymouth, a significantly larger town than any in Cornwall, lies just across the eastern border, in Devon. The West Penwith area lies to the left of the line marked on the map; Newlyn and Paul are sufficiently close together to be marked by the same point.



Brittany

The first map shows the four bishoprics whose area roughly equates with where traditional Breton continued to be spoken into the twentieth century and which give the names of the four dialects into which Breton is normally divided. The second map shows the five Breton departments, including Loire-Atlantique, which is not included as part of the official administrative region despite being historically considered an area that falls within the confines of Brittany. Towns mentioned in the thesis are marked on this second map.





Appendix 4: Nicholas Williams' criticisms of KK and Ken George's response

Nicholas Williams' criticisms

1. "Kernowek Kemyn insists on three vocalic lengths: long, half-long and short, but Middle Cornish had only long and short.
2. Kernowek Kemyn distinguishes /ɪː/ from /eː/ although the two had fallen together as /eː/ in Middle Cornish.
3. Kernowek Kemyn distinguishes /ɔː/ and /oː/ although in standard Middle Cornish the two had fallen together.
4. Kernowek Kemyn is unaware that /iː/ had become /ej/ in final position in Middle Cornish.
5. Kernowek Kemyn is unaware that original /ej/ and /aj/ had fallen together as /aj/ in Middle Cornish.
6. Kernowek Kemyn is unaware that /ow/ and /aw/ were falling together as /aw/ in Middle Cornish.
7. Kernowek Kemyn is unaware that final /yː/ had become /ɪw/ in Middle Cornish and that final /uː/ had become /ew/.
8. Kernowek Kemyn distinguishes /i/ and /ɪ/, although the two had fallen together as /ɪ/ in Middle Cornish and /ɪ/ alternated with /e/.
9. Kernowek Kemyn incorrectly pronounces long /aː/ as [aː] and not [æː].
10. Kernowek Kemyn is ignorant of the vocalic alternation *y* ~ *e* and as a result posits such non-existent forms as *gwydhenn* 'tree', *hwytha* 'to blow', *ynys* 'island'.
11. Kernowek Kemyn posits three diphthongs /iw/, /ɪw/ and /ew/, when Middle Cornish had two only (or in some cases only one).
12. Kernowek Kemyn has *klyw*, *klywes* and *byw*, *bywnans* when Middle Cornish had *clew*, *clewes/clowes* and *byw/bew*, *bewnans/bownans*.
13. Kernowek Kemyn attempts to distinguish quality in unstressed vowels even though all unstressed vowels are schwa from the Middle Cornish period onwards.
14. Kernowek Kemyn posits the impossible /mɪː/ and /tɪː/ for 'I' and 'thou' respectively.
15. Kernowek Kemyn is unaware that 'to thee' was both /ðɪz/ and /ðiːz/ in Middle Cornish.

16. Kernowek Kemyn spells and pronounces *deghow* ‘right, south’ with an unhistorical /e/.
17. Kernowek Kemyn posits a whole series of geminate consonants in Cornish: /pː/ <pp>, /tː/ <tt>, /xː/ <ggh>, etc., none of which existed in the Middle Cornish period.
18. Kernowek Kemyn has no voiceless sonants /rh/, /lh/, /nh/ [sic], even though such items were a feature of Middle Cornish.
19. Kernowek Kemyn is unaware of the rule that *deg* ‘ten’, *gwreg* ‘wife’ always have final /g/ but *medhek* ‘doctor’ and *gowek* ‘mendacious’ always have /k/ and that the same voice/voicelessness operates with *b/p*.
20. Kernewek [sic] uses graphs that are at variance with medieval and modern practice, e.g. <k> before back vowels as in *Kammbronn*; <kw> for <qu> and <hw> for <wh>.
21. Because Kernowek Kemyn has half-length, which was absent from Middle Cornish, the system is compelled to geminate letters unhistorically in *mamm* ‘mother’, *gwann* ‘weak’, for example.
22. Kernowek Kemyn is inconsistent with respect to the gemination of consonants: *Kalenn* ‘Calends’ but *lovan* ‘rope’, *blydhen* ‘year’ but *kribenn* ‘comb’.
23. Kernowek Kemyn is inconsistent using <oe> for /oː/ in *moes* ‘table’, for example, but /o-e/ in *aloes* ‘aloes’.
24. Kernowek Kemyn inconsistently uses <sh> to mean /ʃ/ in *shap* ‘shape’ but /sh/ in *leshanow* ‘nickname’.
25. The etymologies underlying Kernowek Kemyn are often wrong and the orthography is inconsistent as well as being mistaken.
26. The database upon which Kernowek Kemyn was constructed is defective; as [a] result GKK [viz. George, 1993] is replete with omissions and misinformation.”

(reprinted from Williams, 2006a:131–2)

Note that Williams uses the UCR spelling ‘Kernowek Kemyn’ rather than the usual ‘Kernewek Kemmyn’, despite writing in English.

George's response

	"ALLEGED DEVELOPMENTS	REMARKS
1.	Loss of ½ long vowels	they continued until c. 1625
2.	Fusion of /ɪː/ and /eː/	occurred c. 1625
3.	Fusion of /ɔː/ and /oː/	did not occur
4.	/-iː/ > /-ej/	occurred much later than c. 1250
5.	Fusion of /ej/ and /aj/	did not occur
6.	Fusion of /ow/ and /aw/	did not occur
7.	/-yː/ > /-ɪw/	this did occur
8.	Stressed /i/ > /ɪ/ or /e/	did not occur
9.	Pronunciation of /aː/	*not proven*
10.	Alternation *y ~ e*	*misinterpreted by NJAW* [Williams]
11.	Fusion of /iw/, /Iw/ [sic], /ew/	*not proven*
12.	Alternation of *yw ~ ew*	*misinterpreted by NJAW*
13.	Unstressed vowels > schwa	*exaggerated and mis-timed by NJAW*
14.	/mɪː/ and /tɪː/	certainly existed
15.	/ðiz/ [sic] and /ðiːz/	2 forms did not exist
16.	*deghow* 'right'	*not admitted by KJG* [George]
17.	Geminate consonants	did exist
18.	Voiceless sonants	*misinterpreted by NJAW*
19.	Final consonants	*not proven*
20.	<k> before back vowels	*not an error*

21.	<-mm> and <-nn>	*not an error*
22.	<-n> and <-nn>	*misunderstood by NJAW*
23.	<oe> used for /ɔ-ɛ/	*very rare*
24.	<sh> used for /s-h/	*very rare*
25.	Etymologies faulty	*exaggerated by NJAW*
26.	Defective database	*exaggerated by NJAW*”

(reprinted from Dunbar and George, 1997:171; all emphasis in original)

This is taken from the conclusion of *Cornish for the twenty-first century* (i.e. George, 1997), most of which is dedicated to responding to each criticism in detail.

Appendix 5: Name adaptation

The following table, based on one compiled by Harasta (2013:197), shows a number of examples where people have adapted their names into versions they consider more Cornish, either through changing the orthography (e.g. *Angove* > *An Gof*), adopting a Cornish equivalent of an English name (e.g. *William* > *Wella*), replacing an English surname with an unrelated one (e.g. *King* > *Byghan* [‘small’]), or other means.

Original name	**Adapted name**	**Favoured variety**
George Ansell	Jori Ansell	Kernewek Kemmyn
Michael Palmer	Myghal Palmer	Kernewek Kemmyn
Paul Dunbar	Pawl Dunbar	Kernewek Kemmyn
Catherine Hosken	Katell Hosken	Kernewek Kemmyn
John King	Yowann Byghan	Kernewek Kemmyn
Michael Angove	Myghal An Gof	Kernewek Kemmyn
Pauline Preece	Polin Prys	Kernewek Kemmyn
Gary Angove	Gari An Gof	Kernewek Kemmyn
William Brown	Wella Brown	Kernewek Kemmyn
John Rowe	Joan Kereve	Unified Cornish
Andrew Thompson	Andrew Climo	Unified Cornish
Catherine Loveday Moore	Loveday Carlyon	“unknown”

Harasta points out that this tends to occur mostly among KK users, positing that “the more one studies and becomes involved in Kernewek Kemmyn, the more likely one is to [change] one’s name from an English form to a more Cornish one” (Harasta, 2013:196). It can be noted that this has parallels with certain other aspects of KK, including the aim of breaking away from the English orthographic tradition (here, the English naming

tradition), and attempting to be founded on a more purely Celtic basis (shown particularly in *Katell*, which is in fact a Breton name with no attestations in traditional Cornish).

Appendix 6: Breton orthographies

As an overview of the differences between Breton orthographies, the following passage in the four main orthographies is reprinted from Morvannou (1978:348–9). Apart from the orthography, the text is in standard literary Breton in all cases, with the result that the large amount of possible linguistic variation is not represented, unlike in the Cornish texts in Appendix 1.

KLT

Eur c’horonal nevez a zo kaset deomp ivez hag eur c’homandant. Ha kerkent setu kresket terzienn ar paperiou ! Da nav eur noz emaon atao o tua paper. Ezomm am befe koulskoude a ziskuiz evel an dud all.

ZH

Ur c’horonal nevez a zo kaset deomp ivez hag ur c’homandant. Ha kerkent setu kresket terzhienn ar paperioù ! Da nav eur noz emaon atav o tuañ paper. Ezhomm am befe koulskoude a ziskuizh evel an dud all.

H

Eur horonal nevez a zo kaset deom ivez hag eur homandant. Ha kerkent setu kresket terzienn ar paperiou ! Da nav eur noz emaon atao o tua paper. Ezomm am befe koulskoude a ziskuiz evel an dud all.

SS

Ur c’horonal newez zo kasset dimp iwe hag ur c’homandant. Ha kerkent setu kreskaet terzhienn ar paperioù ! Da naw eur nos emaon ataw o tuañ paper. Ezomm ’m befe koulskoude a ziskuizh ’vel an dud all.

Translation: A new colonel has come to us, as well as a new commander. And immediately the mania for papers has increased! At nine in the evening I am still writing on paper. I should however require a rest, like the other people.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations are spelt out at their first occurrence. The major Cornish orthographies in existence prior to the creation of the 'Standard Written Form' and their supporting associations are listed in Table 4.

AT *Agan Tavas* 'Our Language'

CKK *Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak* 'Celto-Cornish Society'

CTK *Cussel an Tavas Kernuak* 'Cornish Language Council'

CLB Cornish Language Board

CLP Cornish Language Partnership

H Breton orthography developed in 1955

KK *Kernewek Kemmyn* 'Common Cornish'

KLT Breton orthography developed in 1907

KS *Kernowak Standard* 'Standard Cornish'

KYK *Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek* 'Cornish Language Fellowship'

MC Modern Cornish

OPLB Office public de la langue bretonne

PNB Parti national breton

SS Breton orthography developed in the 1970s

SWF Standard Written Form (of Cornish)

UC Unified Cornish

UCR Unified Cornish Revised

UDB Union démocratique bretonne

ZH Breton orthography initially developed in the 1930s and finalised/implemented in 1941

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